Journal of Administration Overseas

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INCLUDING

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BOOK REVIEWS
by Guy Hunter, Professor Kenneth Little, Michael Safier, Sir Robert Marrett, Peter Stutley, Dr. A. H. Marshall, W. T. S. Gould

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Editor's Notes

THE article on the Special Rural Development Programme in Kenya by James Leach which we published in April, 1974, has evoked quite a lot of interest. Since then the Scheme itself has been used as a case-study in the Department of Administrative Studies at Manchester University in their Public Administration Studies Programme for senior civil servants from overseas. In this Number Colin Fuller explains why this particular case study was selected and how it was used successfully as a training exercise.

In the past we used to receive a steady flow of articles from expatriates teaching in Nigerian Universities and Institutes. We are now receiving a very welcome flow of articles by Nigerian academics two of which are included in this issue. *The first*, by Dr. Adeniyi, considers the role of Physical Planning, hitherto in the author's view accorded all too little attention by Nigerian policy-makers. He calls for the re-orientation of the administrative framework so that the government machine can be geared to implement effectively the legislation relating to urban and regional planning which is on the Statute Book waiting to be used properly. In *the second*, Dr. Balogun examines staff inspection procedures in the Western State and the lesson to be learnt is that "if political authority condones inefficiency, the best plans conceived by management will tend to abort".

Among the many socio-economic problems facing Pakistan none can surely be greater than those of Karachi, a city struggling to cope with phenomenal urban growth and an ever-increasing population. S. H. Hashmi paints a clear picture of the administrative structure which controls the City. He sees the new Local Government Law as offering hope for a democratic future but he stresses the urgent need for further administrative reform if the affairs of a great metropolis are to be managed to the best advantage of its citizens.

The Special Rural Development Programme in Kenya

Its use as a Case-Study in the Department of Administrative Studies in the University of Manchester

by COLIN FULLER

Mr. Fuller, who previously served in the Kenya Administration, is a lecturer in the Department of Administrative Studies at Manchester University.

Introduction

The Special Rural Development Programme (S.R.D.P.) in Kenya was outlined in a succinct and apposite article by James Leach in the April 1974 number of this Journal. The purpose of this article is to describe the use which has been made of this Programme in the form of a case-study for the training of senior public officials from overseas who have been members of the Public Administration Studies Programme in the Department of Administrative Studies at the University of Manchester. The main purpose of the case-study and the exercises based on it was to draw attention to some of the critical areas of administrative practice which is one of the main study areas of the Public Administration Studies Programme. The intention was that through analysis of the case-study and drawing upon their own experience the study fellows should identify key areas which would then be used as the basis for the syllabus in administrative practice. The latter part of this article illustrates how this was done.

There were several reasons why the S.R.D.P. in Kenya was chosen for use as the case-study. It is not the intention here to discuss the merits of case-studies *per se* as opposed to more traditional teaching media. Suffice it to say that the case-study has proved itself as a method whereby students, especially when they are students with considerable experience, may come as close as is possible in the classroom to real work situations. The value of case-studies in the training of experienced personnel is stressed because the effectiveness of this method depends to some extent on the amount of relevant experience which students can bring to the exercise and on which they can draw. Relevance of the case-study is also important but is often forgotten. It is a particular problem when training officials from many different countries together, for it is unlikely that more than one or two, if any, will have more than a superficial knowledge of the country in which the study has been made. The S.R.D.P. in Kenya is a most appropriate study for the administrators on the Public Administration Studies Programme at Manchester, because students attending this programme, with very few exceptions, come from countries which have a predominantly rural base, and are primarily concerned in their daily work with rural development. The plan strategies

of many of the poorer countries of the world indicate a strong movement towards rural development and Kenya is no exception[1].

The S.R.D.P. is an experimental attempt to solve some of the problems of rural development in Kenya "through a co-ordinated development programme in a number of representative areas, aimed primarily at increasing the job opportunities and raising the level of incomes. It is intended to execute this programme within the existing machinery of Government by the application of additional inputs of personnel and resources to a plan devised jointly by field and headquarters officers. It is central to this programme that results be applicable to other areas outside those originally chosen"[2]. The students on the Public Administration Studies Programme come from countries which have tried a variety of strategies for rural development, some of which are not dissimilar in part from those employed in the S.R.D.P. in Kenya and indeed, from which the latter borrowed some of its ideas. The Operations Room/Red Book system in Malaysia[3] and the Comilla experiment in East Pakistan[4] (now Bangladesh) and the extension of this experiment in West Pakistan are some of the better known examples of similar attempts to try new systems, which may accelerate the development of rural areas. In the article referred to earlier[5], James Leach expressed the view that the S.R.D.P. was of potential importance to other parts of the developing world. In its use as a case-study it already has significance and, despite the danger of trying to replicate elsewhere the practice in any particular country, it is the writer's view that some of the lessons learned from the early years of the S.R.D.P. confirm experience in other countries and a few may have universal application. However, the intention in using this case was not to point to areas of administrative practice where replicability in other parts of the world might or might not be advantageous, but to use it for analysis by course members in order to discover whether there were any aspects of Kenyan programme which had relevance to situations in the countries from which the course members came and then to take these aspects for more detailed examination in a syllabus for studies in administrative practice.

A further reason for the use of the S.R.D.P. in Kenya as a case-study is that it is an ongoing programme, not a single project which might soon be regarded as out-of-date as with many other case-studies owing to the rapid social and economic change which is taking place in so many of the poorer countries of the world. The S.R.D.P. has proved to be dynamic in the sense that new ideas have continued to be injected into the programme and a variety of changes have been made as a result of evaluation which has been taking place continually since it began.

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[1]D. P. Ghai – Introduction to a special issue on Rural Development in Kenya. *East Africa Journal*, March, 1972.

[2]Republic of Kenya Development Plan, 1970-1974.

[3]Gayl D. Ness, *Bureaucracy and Rural Development in Malaysia* – University of California, 1967.

[4]Arthur F. Raper, *Rural Development in Action – The Comprehensive Experiment at Comilla*, Cornell University, 1970.

[5]*Op. cit.*

Evaluation is yet another reason for the value of the S.R.D.P. as a case-study. Many case-studies are of limited value because they describe only the inputs to a particular project or programme and, in such cases, any analysis of the study has to be set against theoretical outcomes or repercussions. This can be most frustrating to students who know from experience that attempts to foster development of any kind often founder for a multitude of reasons, or if they do succeed in any way, often do so in a manner that was not originally envisaged and for reasons that were not contemplated earlier. The University of Nairobi, in particular the Institute of Development Studies (I.D.S.) of the University, has played a critical role in the S.R.D.P. from the very beginning. This itself is one of the interesting facets of the study. Long before the S.R.D.P. was even thought of, the Government anticipated the role which the University should play in planning for development[6]. The Kericho Conference of October 1966[7], which discussed education, employment and rural development, was sponsored by the University College of Nairobi (as it was then) and it was one of the main recommendations of the Conference – that the Government should establish pilot programmes in which an integrated approach to rural development might be tried – which led to the Government asking a team from I.D.S. to review the field of rural development and make concrete proposals. It was the report of this team[8] which led to the establishment of the S.R.D.P. and the appointment of a co-ordinator in the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development[9]. Since then the I.D.S. has played a continuing role; suggesting the criteria on which the areas for experiment should be selected, preparing the detailed surveys of the areas which were selected, advising the Government on strategies and staffing, and evaluating the programme from every aspect from its inception as an ongoing exercise. The most noteworthy document resulting from this evaluation was submitted in November 1972[10], but the study is a continuing process and most of the findings reached so far have been written up, mainly by staff of the I.D.S.

A final point about the value of the S.R.D.P. as a study, is the extensive literature that is available. Many case studies are deficient in that the information which they provide is superficial so that, for effective study, much more detail is required. If literature containing such additional information is not available then no in-depth study is possible and any analysis made by students must remain shallow. There is an ever-present danger that case-studies

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[6]Republic of Kenya – Development Plan, 1966-70, page 9, stated that "In particular, the Institute of Development Studies of University College, Nairobi, is expected to contribute in an important way to the analyses of data necessary to the planning operation and will advise the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development and other ministries on selected policy problems".

[7]Report of the Kericho (Kenya) Conference. Education, Employment and Rural Development, Edited by James R. Sheffield, East African Publishing House, 1967.

[8]G. Cowan, J. Heyer and J. R. Moris – *Pilot Projects in Rural Development*, May, 1967.

[9]Later, in October, 1970, as the result of an administrative re-shuffle in the Government, the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development and the Treasury were amalgamated into a single Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning.

[10]An overall evaluation of the Special Rural Development Programme Occasional aper No. 8, I.D.S. University of Nairobi.

which are too brief and for which supporting material is not available may mislead those whom they are supposed to assist. Information is the raw material for decision and if this is limited, if too many assumptions have to be made, perhaps wrongly, the study becomes distorted. Moreover, case-studies have a bias of one kind or another, either in the way they are written, or through the information which the writer has decided to include or exclude. There is also the possibility that the writer of a case-study has misunderstood or misinterpreted the situation he is seeking to describe. The chance of any of the foregoing occurring is minimised where students may refer to a wide selection of documents relevant to the case. The S.R.D.P. in Kenya has been so extensively documented that students have a wide selection of publications to which they may refer. This facility is always a valuable one in case-study work. It is particularly so where the students are not nationals of and are unfamiliar with the country in which the study has been made, since it is inevitably difficult for them to acquire an understanding of and feeling for the social, political and economic nuances which are so important, often critical, in the administrative situations they are studying. They can rarely hope, even in the most ideal circumstances, to obtain as full an understanding or sensitivity as would the experienced national. Students have often commented on this limitation, which may sometimes make a crucial difference to the kind of decision which an administrator would make or the action he would take. In this multi-national training situation, therefore, it is even more vital that as much information as possible be readily available, so that students may have the opportunity to equip themselves as fully as possible with relevant information.

Use of the Case-Study

From the preceding argument it will be obvious that the S.R.D.P. study cannot be used for a multi-national group as fully as would be possible for a group of Kenyan officials. With the latter, not only would it be possible to examine in detail all the social, political, economic, financial and administrative implications of the S.R.D.P.; it would also be possible to organise a whole series of group and individual exercises through which students could gain a full appreciation of the rural scene, the objectives of the programme and the complexities of its implementation and evaluation. It is in the use of group and individual exercises that, in the writer's experience, the main value of the case-study technique lies. Participation in the learning process is particularly necessary and effective where experienced officials are concerned, and, the greater the degree of involvement the greater will be the participants' interest and effort. Because of the multi-national composition of the groups for which this case-study has been used in the Department of Administrative Studies the group rather than the individual exercise was selected as the more appropriate teaching method. The group exercise has particular advantages where the group comprises experienced people in that each member is able to benefit from the collective experience of the group, which may be considerable. As opposed to some of the limitations of the multi-national group situation, referred to earlier, the benefit of cross-fertilization of ideas which it brings can be of very great value. The procedure adopted at Manchester was as follows:

The study fellows were placed in three groups of eleven and were given the following brief:

> "You have read the case-study about the S.R.D.P. in Kenya. In what ways, if any, do you think it illustrates situations, practices, attitudes, which may be considered fairly common in the countries represented in your group."

The intention in this part of the exercise was that study fellows should take a diagnostic approach and, by analysis of the case-study and discussion with colleagues, obtain from the particular evidence of the case-study a frame of reference of a more general nature which would be relevant to the circumstances of the countries represented in each group. Each group discussed the case for two hours and made brief notes which were correlated by the lecturer presenting the study for de-briefing in a plenary session.

One of the main topics of discussion was the problem of control. All groups were of the opinion that the case-study was a good example of the concentration of control in the capital city. The merits and demerits of decentralised and centralised systems of administration were illustrated with examples from group members' own experience. There was a consensus of opin ion in favour of as much decentralisation as possible of decision-making to the rural areas where development programmes were to be implemented. Some group members who supported this may have done so because they thought it was good theory, but several who did so were to voice contradictory views in the second exercise in which ideas of a prescriptive nature were sought.

Discussion then moved to the "committee" system of planning in The Provinces and Districts which had been outlined in the case-study with reference to the 1966-70 Development Plan. The main question here for most study fellows was "did it work?" Again there were several illustrations from experience of similar strategies in the participants' own countries. Not surprisingly perhaps, whilst there was a majority of opinion in favour of machinery which would extend "democratic" processes and participation by the people whom The Plan would affect, there was much discussion and divergence of opinion as to how this could be done and, at the same time, result in professional, locally produced plans which could be integrated with national plans.

This led on to discussion of the fact that plans produced locally are often ignored by central planners. Reasons put forward for this included the "shopping list" nature of many locally-produced plans, their unprofessional presentation and the problems which they presented at the centre because of "over-bidding" for scarce resources.

Evidence that the Treasury had dragged its feet on the financing of The S.R.D.P. was cited as a not uncommon experience in countries represented in the groups. The conservative attitude of departments of finance, their suspicion of operational departments particularly of their over-estimation of financial resources to meet their operational requirements, and their unprofessional bidding for finance were reasons put forward by the groups in explanation of the attitudes of many Treasury officials. Although suggestions

that better procedures for the submission of financial requirements and the disbursement of finance to operational departments were discussed as methods whereby this kind of situation might be avoided the great weight of opinion was that lack of support from influential politicians and the top civil servants was often a reason for the slow implementation of plans. Was this, the participants asked, a possible reason for inertia in the financing of the S.R.D.P. or was the problem related to the seeking of aid from donors overseas.

Other topics which were raised were related to staffing and organisation; questions about the role of specialists and general administrators, particularly in departments such as agriculture or finance and planning; intra-departmental and inter-departmental relations; the use of planning sections; the general shortage of skilled personnel and the role of universities particularly in the countries represented in the groups.

The second exercise put the study fellows in a role-playing situation. The three groups were given the following brief:

> "You are The National Rural Development Committee (N.R.D.C.). You are meeting to decide how The Special Rural Development Programme shall be implemented. Detailed plans and estimates have been prepared and have been approved by The Ministry of Finance and Planning. You may assume there is no financial constraint which could affect any decisions you may wish to take."

The intention in this part of the exercise was that in making proposals of a prescriptive nature the groups would have to discuss administrative practice in a positive rather than a negative manner. D. P. Ghai has stressed the continuing need for new ideas and experiments, for new policies and procedures[11] and Judith Heyer has emphasised the importance of exploring possibilities instead of concentrating on problems[12]. Whilst this is not new, all too often studies about the implementation of programmes and projects stress difficulties and narrow the study instead of exploring as full a range of action as possible.

In all three groups attention focused on operational responsibility for implementation, particularly on control and co-ordination. There was wide divergence of opinion in all groups and most of the proposals referred to below were made in all three.

Discussion centred mainly on suggestions that one department should be responsible for the control and co-ordination of the programme. Although this had much support there were some (mainly the field administrators) who argued that it should be the District Commissioner, some who were not sure who it should be but who were adamant that it should *not* be the District Commissioner or any member of the Provincial Administration, some who suggested that it might be a person elected by the people of the area, some who proposed that the District Development Committees which already existed were the obvious bodies to do this, some that it should be the Provincial Planning Officers and finally those who said that each Ministry

[11] D. P. Ghai – *op. cit.*
[12] J. Heyer – *op. cit.*

knew which parts of the programme were its responsibility and that they should get on with this with periodic meetings (by whom and at what level unstated) to review progress. At times the discussion was very heated with participants taking personal and departmental standpoints just as they would in their own work situation. Many of the arguments put forward to support the different points of view will be very familiar to most readers. The field administrators stressed the importance of integration and co-ordination and referred to the *primus inter pares* role of the administrator. The departmental specialists were concerned about "interference" by the administrators and sought to emphasise the autonomy of specialist departments particularly when making decisions about expenditure and the control of finance. A good example of the struggle between the generalists and specialists seeking to preserve their role and status was the proposal by a field administrator from India that each Ministry's allocation of finance for S.R.D.P. should be disaggregated to each division in the field, with a divisional co-ordinator (a District Officer) taking responsibility for expenditure and control. There was a swift reaction from an agricultural specialist from Jamaica who maintained that finance had already been allocated on a departmental basis, that it should remain so and that great controversy would follow any attempt to take this from them.

There was strong support for the proposal that, since this was an ambitious programme, whoever was appointed to control and co-ordinate it in the field should not have many other duties which could dilute the amount of time he could give to the S.R.D.P. Most participants were also of the opinion that such a person must be someone who could command the respect of all – peasantry, politicians and departmental officers. A word of caution was sounded by a member of one group who warned against too many extra people "running around at divisional level". Towards the end of discussion, a lady member of one of the groups referred her colleagues to that part of the case-study where the recommendations of the Report[13] of the University Team had been quoted. These proposed that in each area a single government official be appointed to co-ordinate all activity and that The Programme should be handled through the existing machinery of government. The lady's suggestions were ignored and since she did not persist, the point was lost. Whilst this may, at first sight, appear to be a relatively insignificant incident, it is not an uncommon one and reference to it was to follow on several occasions during the term particularly in those parts of the syllabus which deals with committee work, co-operation and inter-departmental relations. There had been considerable disagreement in Group A between the "specialists" and "generalists" as reported above. There was a consensus that the person who was appointed should have "managerial ability". This concern with the skills that the job would require closely mirrored the events which had actually occurred in Kenya. An important question which had been asked by the N.R.D.C. Secretariat and others advising it in Kenya concerned the selection and appointment of Area Co-ordinators who were to be responsible for control and co-ordination of the S.R.D.P. in the

[13]Cowan, Heyer and Moris – *op. cit.*

Divisions. There had been those who favoured the appointment of specialist economists on the grounds that the planning function was the critical part of the Area Co-ordinator's work. Others had stressed the managerial nature of the Area Co-ordinator's role and the primacy of this aspect of his work. In the event, serving District Officers were seconded for this task.

Target-setting and procedures for the achievement of those targets were discussed in all these groups, although, again, the approach varied according to the group. Some were interested in the planning aspects and wanted targets to be set so that area plans should not be too vague or merely indicative in nature. Others wanted programmes of work established for all those concerned with implementation at divisional level so that responsibility for different aspects of the programme could be assigned and monitored. They felt that such procedures increased the likelihood of targets being achieved. Others felt that the smooth flow of finance from the central departments of government to the division in the field was a more critical area and one where difficulties tended to arise and delay implementation. One group strongly endorsed, the appointment of "linkmen" in all operational departments. The role of these officers was to ease inter-departmental co-operation and co-ordination in Nairobi and also between their own departments in Nairobi and their field officers in the S.R.D.P. divisions. Their role was one which required them to prevent or remove administrative bottlenecks and, in addition, to act as extension officers within their departments, explaining the objectives of and the procedures for the S.R.D.P. to departmental officials who were quite often ignorant of or mistaken about the objectives of the programme for the servicing of which they were partly responsible.

The final point which received significant attention in discussion was evaluation. There was complete agreement in the groups that this was necessary. Opinion varied as to the form the evaluation should take, by whom it should be carried out and when this should be done, and there was insufficient time for any conclusions to be reached.

Conclusions

One of the most successful aspects of both exercises based on the S.R.D.P. was that, having read and used it as a frame of reference, the participants became so involved in the discussion of policies and procedures for the implementation of rural development programmes that reference back to the case-study was rarely made. Discussion was not, therefore, restricted to a detailed examination of the S.R.D.P. in Kenya. The participants used the case-study as the basis for an analysis of study in administrative practice within the field of planning and implementing rural development programmes.

Another interesting point was that although discussion moved very quickly away from specific reference to the case-study, discussion in all three groups was, almost without exception, about issues which had caused concern to officials and university staff in Kenya in the implementation of the S.R.D.P. Some, quite specifically, were the very same issues, with participants' questions during the exercise almost replicating the very questions which had taxed the minds of those responsible for the programme in Kenya.

Having used the case-study as a basis for discussion of some of the significant aspects of administrative practice, in the seven weeks that followed this exercise, study fellows participated in a programme of studies in administrative practice as follows:

Time devoted to each subject in hours	*Subject*
2	The Administrator's role – his scope for action. The nature of management including administrative control.
2	The use and effect of administrative structures and procedures. Resources used by the administrator.
2	Time – Use and Planning of (including film "Managing Time").
2	Finance – financial aspects of planning and budgeting.
2	Personnel – Co-operation and inter-departmental relations (including behavioural exercise).
2	Personnel – Motivation and Communication (including film "Meanings are in People").
4	Completed Staff Work and Minute Writing (including individual exercise using a case-study "scholarships for Secondary Schools").
3	Committee Work (using a short case-study "Mancas Province" with a role-playing exercise).
3	Interviewing for the selection of staff (including a role-playing exercise).
2	Evaluation of the administrative practice programme.

Evaluation

When the administrative practice programme was completed the study-fellows were asked to evaluate all sixteen sessions in a written anonymous questionnaire. There were 33 study-fellows from 21 countries which were Afghanistan, Arab Republic of Egypt, Bahamas, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Dominica, Ghana, Grenada, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Oman, Thailand, Trinidad and Zambia. Four ratings were used:

A. – Very – (relevant, appropriate, well-understood)

B. – Quite – (relevant, appropriate, well-understood)

C. – Not – (relevant, appropriate, well-understood)

D. – Not at all – (relevant, appropriate, well-understood)

The three most important questions were evaluated as follows for those sessions which referred to the S.R.D.P. exercises.

	How relevant to the course was this subject	How appropriate was the presentation	How well did you understand this session
1. *Small Groups* Identification of areas for study using Kenya S.R.D.P. Case-Study as basis. Groups asked to consider ways in which it illustrated situations, practices, attitudes from countries represented in group	A B C D * 14 13 3 0	A B C D * 7 22 1 0	A B C D * 7 17 5 1
2. *Full Course* De-brief small group exercise. Identify critical areas. Outline course of study	A B C D * 12 14 3 0	A B C D * 8 19 2 0	A B C D * 8 14 7 0
3. *Small Groups* Sitting as the National Rural Development Committee to decide how the programme shall be implemented	A B C D * 18 9 2 0	A B C D * 10 17 3 0	A B C D * 10 11 9 0
4. *Full Course* De-brief small group exercise. Identify problems of implementation and then discussion of papers showing how the S.R.D.P. Programme was actually implemented	A B C D * 14 13 3 0	A B C D * 13 15 2 0	A B C D * 9 16 4 0

*Indicates total number of course members did not complete these sections.

APPENDIX

Synopsis of the S.R.D.P. Case Study

Course members were given the case-study a week before it was due to be discussed. Briefly, the study was as follows:

An outline of development planning in Kenya prior to independence in 1963. This was followed by a reference to the centralised structure of The Civil Service as a whole, of the separate departments of government and the planning process. There followed a chronological description of the development of administrative structures for planning in Kenya in the 1960s.

The case study then made detailed reference to three documents:

1 The I.B.R.D. report on The Economic Development of Kenya published in 1962.

2 The Kenya Government Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 – "African Socialism and its application to Planning in Kenya" and

3 The Kenya Government Development Plan, 1966-70.

The main points to which attention was drawn in these documents were:
In the I.B.R.D. report –

(i) The development of the rural areas as the main objectives of development strategy.

(ii) The allocation of responsibility for planning functions in the government.

(iii) The primary importance of implementation.

(iv) The fact that the current plan was essentially a financial exercise.

(v) The importance of evaluation of development according to output rather than input.

(vi) A statement that Kenya's rate of growth and improvement in levels of living would depend mainly on agricultural development.

(vii) Reference to the Swynnerton Plan of 1954 for the development of modern farming systems by Africans.

(viii) Recommendations about organisational and staff changes in the Ministry of Agriculture.

The I.B.R.D. Report proposals for the organisation of development planning were attached as one of the appendices to the case study.

In Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965:

(i) The physical, social, financial and economic aspects of planning.

(ii) Those sections dealing with planning and control.

In the Development Plan 1966-70:

(i) Chapter I on "Planning Functions and Organisation".

(ii) Description of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (M.E.P.D.) and the functions of its different divisions.

(iii) Proposals for the planning organisation in all the departments of Government, including the appointment of planning officers and the establishment of planning units in some key Ministries.

(iv) Proposals for the planning structure in the rural areas with special reference to the Development and Development Advisory Committees at Provincial and District levels.

(v) Reference to the role of the University.

Included with the appendices to the case study were:

(a) The Plan proposals for the organisation of the M.E.P.D. in 1969.

(b) The Plan summary of planning functions.

(c) The actual organisation of the M.E.P.D. in 1969.

(d) The Plan proposals for the composition of Development and Development Advisory Committees in Provinces and Districts.

The case-study concluded with a chronological summary of the development of S.R.D.P. on the following lines:

September 1966	–	The Kericho Conference.
May 1967	–	Recommendations of the University report "Pilot Projects in Rural Development".
Early 1968	–	The appointment of a co-ordinator for S.R.D.P. in the M.E.P.D. – The establishment of an inter-ministerial committee and its decision that a national co-ordinating committee be set up.
March 1968	–	The University is requested to do base-line surveys.
May 1968	–	Agreement by the University and the Government on 14 rural divisions which should be surveyed.
September 1968	–	Completion of the base-line surveys.
Early 1969	–	Establishment of the National Rural Development Committee (N.R.D.C.).
Later 1969	–	Selection of 6 rural divisions as phase I of the S.R.D.P. with the other 8 left for phase II.
End of 1969	–	Production of "plans" for 4 of the 6 divisions.
January 1970	–	Approval of the "plans" by the N.R.D.C.
May 1970	–	Completion of Treasury estimates for the 4 plans.
June 1970	–	S.R.D.P. Seminar at Kenya Institute of Administration and Government estimates of expenditure for 1970-71 show only a token vote of £10 in the Development Estimates for each of the 4 Divisions where S.R.D.P. plans have been approved.
July 1970	–	Announcement that inauguration of the S.R.D.P. would have to be postponed – reasons for and effects of announcement.
October 1970	–	Still no funding of S.R.D.P. by the Treasury. Amalgamation of the M.E.P.D. and Treasury into a Ministry of Finance and Planning.
November 1970	–	Release of funds for the S.R.D.P. in 3 divisions and understanding that implementation would begin in all areas in January, 1971.

Two papers which were used in the preparation of the first part of the case-study and which are acknowledged in the text are:

1 Planning for rural areas in Africa – Experience and Prescriptions. Robert Chambers – The African Review, January, 1972.

2 The Administration of Rural Development in Kenya: Plan Formulation and Implementation in The Special Rural Development Programme – J. R. Nellis – University of Nairobi/York University Seminar 15-17th July, 1971.

Administrative Framework for Physical Planning in Nigeria

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THERE is an increasing awareness of the need to pay more attention to the problems resulting from the large-scale and unplanned growth of Nigerian cities, and much debate has taken place recently on the need for both the Federal and State Governments to take decisive measures to improve urban conditions.

In recognising this need, the Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction recently commissioned a study of the development problems and future requirements of twenty major urban centres, and some State Governments have engaged consultants to prepare master-plans to guide the pattern of growth of their principal towns. Little attention has, however, been focused on the administrative framework for conceiving, formulating and executing urban planning and development in Nigeria. It is the purpose of this paper therefore, to discuss briefly the need for physical planning in Nigeria and the administrative framework within which it is undertaken. In addition, the main constraints on the existing organisational framework for urban planning and development, and recent trends in physical planning in Nigeria will be discussed.

The Need for Physical Planning

In the past two decades, the development of Nigeria has been marked by a rapid growth in population, increase in export crop production, increase in manufacturing and commercial growth, and lately, increasing production of petroleum. These developments have led to waves of migrations and urban growth centred in four main areas – the Lagos Metropolitan and Ibadan areas; the Port Harcourt – Aba – Onitsha – Enugu complex; the Kano – Kaduna – Zaria – Jos axis, and the Benin – Sapele – Warri complex. With the creation of new states in 1967, these four areas, in addition to other centres chosen as state capitals, continue to grow; not just in population but also commercially, industrially and in the size of their administrative infrastructure. The main feature of the economic and social development of the country has, therefore, its concentration in a few growth poles, and relatively slow and stagnating growth in other zones and rural areas.

A forceful indication of this form of concentration can be seen in the way Nigerian manufacturing industries have continued to grow in these very same areas. Between 1950 and 1965 manufacturing output rose by about 17 per cent p.a., representing a share of the gross domestic product that

increased from 0.5 per cent to 5 per cent. Yet the four growth poles continued to provide the most sites for new manufacturing plant – with inevitable restriction on the geographical distribution of these industries. By 1965, about 32 per cent of the country's total manufacturing plant, and over 40 per cent of total industrial employment, were concentrated in Metropolitan Lagos, and a further 50 per cent was accounted for by the three other major urban areas already listed. In the Northern States, Metropolitan Kano has over 50 per cent of all the industries located in that zone.

The concentration of manufacturing and other activities in growth poles of Nigeria has led to uncontrolled growth in urbanisation and migration. Between 1952 and 1970, migration to the urban centres accounted for about 10 per cent of the country's rural population as recorded in the 1952 population census, so that the proportion of Nigerians living in cities rose from 19 per cent to an estimated 25 per cent[1]. The influx of population into urban centres not prepared for it has overstretched social and physical facilities, resulting inevitably in inadequate housing, the spread of slums, traffic congestion, inadequate facilities for waste disposal and shortages of water, power supply and basic social services. In addition, the cities face problems of fragmented administration, inefficient municipal or regional utility systems, and a general lack of co-ordination in planning and in the allocation of investments. City administrations in the country, inefficient and, underfinanced, find it difficult to plan and implement effective budgets and to allocate resources.

It is recognised that urbanisation has, historically, been inseparably associated with the process of economic development, and that the city, with its concentration of industry, commerce and administration, of capital, labour and technology, has traditionally been a powerful generator of national economic growth. In addition, cities "are the essential dynamos for progress in all parts of an industrialising country",[2] as well as providing focal points around which rural activities and development can be organised. On the other hand, uncontrolled urbanisation can degenerate into national liability.

Balanced growth as between urban and rural areas is essential if the economic and physical development of cities is not to be based on a purely urban strategy, and if the most effective use of resources is to be made. This will facilitate the harnessing of the power of the city as an engine of development for the benefit of the economy of the country as a whole. Given these circumstances and the recent declaration by the Federal Government of unequivocal commitment to enhancing Nigeria's physical development within the framework of national economic planning, attention is now focused on the role of physical planning and the existing administrative framework for pursuing this aim.

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[1]E. O. Adeniyi, "The Need for Urban and Regional Planning for National Development in Nigeria". Paper presented at the International Conference on Regional Planning and National Development in Africa, March, 1972, University of Ibadan.

[2]B. M. Cross, *The Administration of Economic Development Planning: Principles and Fallacies*. United Nations Public Administration Branch, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 1966, p. 55.

The Role of Physical Planning

For our purpose, we hold that physical planning is concerned with the design, growth and management of the physical environment, in accordance with pre-determined and agreed policies. Ideally this would aim at achieving balanced social and economic objectives. In order to play this role, physical planning should provide for and co-ordinate all forms of development activity, at national, regional and local levels, by making the fullest and most effective use of available human and natural resources[3]. These, according to McLoughlin, are concerned with "the likely demands on land development, with the demand for movements of goods and raw materials, with the possible locations of these within the city or region . . . and with the broad relationships between likely rates of change of labour demand, the possible scale and timing of migration into and out of the area, and the relationships of these with the supply of housing, hospitals, schools, and other social facilities"[4]. One would readily agree that these are comprehensive roles which call for integrated development planning in terms of economic, physical and social objectives of development for a nation, within a dynamic administrative framework.

Existing Administrative Framework

In Nigeria, physical planning was originally interpreted narrowly as being concerned with towns and cities, with emphasis on the achievement of adequate sanitary and safety conditions. In addition, socio-economic conditions that influenced 19th-century England and her colonial policies were also at work in shaping the administrative framework for physical planning in Nigeria. It is common knowledge that bureaucratic structures created by the colonial governments, were largely concerned with maintaining law and order and keeping taxation low to promote investment in the interest of the colonial power. The goal was largely a custodial goal, with little or no integrative planning purposes, between different professional groups concerned with planning within the government machinery.

Township Ordinances

While Urban Boards of Health had been set up ten years earlier, the first systematic attempt at physical planning in Nigeria was provided by Township Ordinance No 29 of 1917. Its main purpose was "to establish the broad principle of Municipal responsibility, graduated according to the importance of the community, and the measure of its ability to accept and discharge satisfactorily, independent or *quasi*-independent powers".[5]

The 1971 Ordinance recognised three classes of townships on the basis of administrative and financial autonomy. The class and boundary of each township were established under an Order signed by the Governor and

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[3]George H. Franklin, "Physical Planning in the Machinery of Government". Paper presented at the Commonwealth Association of Planners Inaugural Conference, New Delhi, March, 1973, p. 49.

[4]J. Brian McLoughlin, *Urban and Regional Planning: A Systems Approach*, London, 1969, pp. 194-5.

[5]F. D. Lugard, *Political Memoranda: Revision of Instructions to Political Officers*, Memo No. 11, 1919, pp. 405-422 (3rd Edition, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., London, 1970).

published in the Gazette. Lagos was declared a first-class township with a Town Council which combined the functions specified in the Township Ordinance and the Public Health Ordinance. Thus, among its duties were the maintenance of public health, the maintenance of such amenities as its funds permitted, including the construction and maintenance of roads and streets.

The control of a Second-Class Township (18 major towns on the rail lines, river or sea ports which had some European population) was vested in a "Local Authority" appointed by the Governor and endowed with the ordinary powers of a corporation except as regards leases of land. The Authority was assisted by an "Advisory Board" and had the powers of a Town Council. The Local Authority had independent sources of revenue from rates and subscriptions and miscellaneous fees and dues.

Third-Class Townships were under the control of the Officer nominated by the Governor as Local Authority – usually an administrative officer stationed in the district concerned. There was no Township fund, and all revenue collected was paid into the Treasury. These Townships were mainly centres of traditional importance which did not have major significance for the then colonial economy. The Local Authority (which had no Advisory Board) gave effect to such rules as the Governor might make and were generally limited to enforcing the principle of segregation, and a few simple sanitation regulations.

One major feature of the Township Ordinance was the emphasis on guidelines for the physical lay-out of urban areas particularly in the "European" and "Non-European Reservations". The impact of these guidelines is very evident in the physical lay-out of the Government Reservation Area, and the grid-iron pattern of such towns as Kaduna, Jos, Minna, Enugu, Port Harcourt and also the Sabon-garis or new districts of most Nigerian cities.

Legislation for Urban and Regional Planning

In the Nigerian Constitutions to date, there is no specific reference to Urban and Regional Planning (Town and Country Planning – to use the official term) in Nigeria. The subject is conspicuously absent from both the Exclusive Legislative List (Federal subjects), and the Concurrent Legislative List (both Federal and State subjects) and, as any subject not listed under these two legislative lists is often regarded as a Residual Subject, the impression is given that urban and regional planning is a Regional/State subject. However, item 15 of the Concurrent Legislative List is National Parks – that is to say, "the control of such areas, in a Region as may, with the consent of the Government of that Region, be designated by the President by order as "a National Park".[6] Apart from this, however, successive Constitutions of Nigeria have been silent on the all-important subject of urban and regional development. This omission appears to have been remedied by Cap 155 of the Nigerian Laws entitled *Nigeria Town and Country Planning* (Ordinance No 4 of 1946), which was an ordinance "to make provision for the re-

[6]Nigeria: *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*, 1963, Section 69, Part II, p. 80.

planning, improvement and development of different parts of Nigeria" by means of planning schemes and planning authorities. This Ordinance which is based on the United Kingdom Town and Country Planning Acts of 1932 (since revised and modified many times in that country), forms the legislative basis of all laws governing urban and regional planning in Nigeria. It is also a direct offspring of the greater concern for the social and economic betterment of colonial Nigeria as reflected in the Ten-Year Plan of Development and Welfare (1946), which recognised under its Town Planning and Village Reconstruction programme that "there is scarcely a town in Nigeria that is not in very serious need of replanning and the proper laying out of further extensions".[7]

The scope and powers of the Ordinance are very comprehensive and wide-ranging, so that both the Federal and State Governments can initiate "planning schemes" under the provisions of the Ordinance. Section 3 states that the principal objects of planning schemes are generally to control the development and use of the land involved, to secure proper sanitation, amenity and convenience, to preserve places of natural beauty of interest, and generally to protect existing urban and rural amenities. It appears that this section confines any authority set up under the Ordinance to the traditionally restricted field of physical planning. However, Section 13(1) and Parts IV and V of its First schedule add the further objects of *co-ordinating* and *facilitating* the construction of public utility services, transport, communications and other public services as well as of *conserving and developing the resources* of the area concerned.

The First schedule gives a fairly comprehensive list of subjects, all concerned with the planning and development of land uses and connected facilities; among these are:

i. the reservation of land for roads, the construction, maintenance and improvement of roads, the establishment of public rights of way;

ii. the regulation and control of buildings, slum clearance, the reservation of land for various purposes including open spaces and for industrial trade, education and religious purposes;

iii. the facilitation of construction and establishment of all kinds of public utility services, transport and communication; and

iv. the preservation of views and specified forms of natural beauty or interest.

The Ordinance also specifies that planning authorities may prepare and implement planning schemes, enter into contracts for that purpose and regulate development projects furthered by private individuals so that they conform with the schemes.

From these it can be seen, therefore, that the Ordinance provides for the conception and execution of a comprehensive development programme for the area falling under proclaimed schemes. They range beyond those normally appearing in town and country planning legislation, and extend beyond those

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[7] *A Ten-Year Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria*, Lagos, 1946, p. 27.

of an improvement trust. Moreover, the fact that the Ordinance provides for the *development of the resources* of a planning scheme area, shows that its main objective is the promotion of integrated development.

It is therefore clear that the legislative objectives of the Ordinance range beyond physical planning as such, and beyond even the undertaking of improvement works. Because of its extensive aims, the powers potentially exercisable by a planning authority can in theory, permit it to plan, initiate and carry through development that, at one and the same time, is physical, social and economic. It can indeed be claimed that if the Ordinance contains any impediments to the realisation of its aims, they are to be sought in its interpretation, and in the conception and organisational set-up of planning schemes and planning authorities. It can be further claimed that even if there are no other enabling laws to empower the Federal Government to intervene in urban and regional planning, the existing "Nigeria Town and Country Planning Ordinance" empowers the Federal Government to intervene and promote urban and regional planning in the States. Only very recently has the Federal Government become alive to its duties and responsibilities in this regard.

Organisational framework

As far as planning for urban and regional development is concerned in Nigeria, there has been very little organisational framework devoted to its promotion. The basic cause of this may be that only minimal attention has been given to this subject. At the Federal Government level, the Ministry of Works and Housing (which counterpart Ministry takes charge of "Town Planning" in the States) concerns itself mainly with overall supervision of the construction and building projects of the government and has nothing to do with Town and Country Planning. This may be a reflection of the Federal Government's lack of concern for physical planning apart from its responsibility for the Lagos Federal Territory.

Before the creation of new states in 1967, the body responsible for the urban development of the Lagos Federal Territory was the Lagos Executive Development Board (LEDB). The Board was set up under the Lagos Town Planning Ordinance of 1928, following an outbreak of bubonic plague, and had extensive powers to undertake comprehensive improvement schemes within the city limits. It obtained its funds from the Federal Government through the Ministry of Lagos Affairs, and had jurisdiction only over the Federal Territory where less than half of the Metropolitan population of Lagos lives. The Board had to contend with several problems, among which were lack of funds and executive capacity, tenuous co-operation between it and the Lagos City Council, and lack of co-operation with the other four District Councils which had jurisdiction over Metropolitan Lagos.

The LEDB concerned itself mainly with minimal slum clearance on Lagos Island, the reclamation of Victoria Island, the Surulere, South-West Ikoyi and Apapa Housing Schemes, and the industrial layouts at Apapa, Iganmu and Ijora. It did not concern itself with city planning as such, nor with the provision and maintenance of public utility service which was the responsibility of the Lagos City Council. The other four District Councils

in the Metropolis did not have the resources, administrative machinery nor the governmental backing to grapple with problems of rapid urbanisation, with the result that much of Metropolitan Lagos has grown into an over-crowded slum-like shanty town.

Urban Planning and development in the States were no better than in Lagos. There the authorities regarded urban planning and development as a problem for Local Authorities to solve and no serious efforts were made to effect orderly urban development apart from planning the lay-outs of the new towns of Kaduna, Jos, Enugu and Port Harcourt. The Administrative framework within which the State governments hoped to effect orderly urban development was through the establishment of Town Planning Authorities set up under the provision of the 1946 Ordinance. Most of these were established in the former Western Region while the other Regional Governments left the task mainly to Local Authorities.

Since the legislation of 1946, most of the Town Planning Authorities set up have concentrated on building control, sometimes referred to as development control. The few planning schemes implemented have been confined to housing and road lay-outs in towns and the most successful of these were undertaken in Sapele, Ikeja, Kaduna and Port Harcourt. In most cases, existing Town Planning Authorities' jurisdiction (either by law or practice) is specifically excluded from the "old" towns, as for instance at Ibadan, in which over half of the city's population lives. No town plans or studies have been produced and none of the Town Planning Authorities has seen the need to anticipate urban problems or taken measures to combat such problems. At best, there has been a local *ad-hoc* response to uncontrolled city growth, and no efforts have been made to attack urban problems from the roots – rural/urban migration, the provision of housing, transport, public utilities, etc.

In attacking the urban housing problems, the Regional Governments set up Housing Corporations (in the case of the Federal Government the LEDB) to develop housing estates and build houses for acquisition by members of the public, with emphasis on low-cost houses for the low-income group of urban residents. Unfortunately, these bodies have concentrated on providing houses for the high-income groups, and have thus solved very few of the most urgent urban housing problems.

Financial Provision for Physical Planning

Both the Federal and State Governments classify this subject as "social overheads" and not economic investment, so that it receives little attention in terms of fund allocation. The first attempt at national economic planning in Nigeria (the Ten Year Plan of 1946-56), provided the sum of N662,000 for Town Planning and Village Reconstruction out of a total of N106.6 million; loan funds which were little used, were also made available.

The First National Development Plan (1962-68) allocated a total capital expenditure of N84 million to Town and Country Planning (including housing), but at the end of the Plan period only N39.2 million – or 47 per cent of the fund – was actually disbursed. The Second Plan 1970-74, provides

for an increased figure of N141.6 million (6.9 per cent of total planned capital expenditure) (inclusive now of water and sewerage as well as housing). The Plan, however, still regards physical planning as providing only "a kind of visual aid to economic planning". It is, therefore, not concerned with any machinery for promoting or planning orderly urban development.

There is, however, a promising departure from former practice as the Plan allocates the sum of No.44 million to "facilitate the systematic provision of the necessary physical data on the relative development potential of different zones of the country on an objective scientific basis". This Plan is regarded as "a modest beginning in preparation for comprehensive regional planning during subsequent plan periods".[8]

Constraints on existing organisational framework for Physical Planning

In part, the constraints stem from a lack of appropriate and systematic research to provide a factual basis for policy-formulation. Until very recently, when the Physical Development Division of the Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER) was set up, there was no research in the Universities and Research Institutes with the long-term aims of methodically and continuously informing the Federal and State Governments on the spatial aspects of Nigeria's development, and advising them on possible urban and regional planning policies. In addition, few specialist studies were commissioned in the past to prepare metropolitan development plans and to recommend permanent machinery for the control of future city growth. The few that were commissioned, such as those for Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, and Calabar, were either not realistic enough in their recommendations, or else they failed to receive prompt government consideration. It will be very interesting to see how the Federal Government will react to the studies now commissioned into the development problems and needs of twenty major Nigerian cities.

The following examples of constraints are given in the hope that they will be borne in mind when new arrangements for physical planning are being worked out:

i. The Nigerian Constitution does not give any definite responsibility to the Federal Government with regard to urban and regional planning affairs – hence no binding constitutional obligation on the Federal authorities to get involved in the subject.

ii. Successive Governments have not evolved any national or regional policy on physical planning, and none of the development plans embodies a policy on urbanisation and regional planning to guide investment in industry, transport, commerce and public utilities.

iii. Even though the existing Nigeria Town and Country Planning Ordinance is comprehensive enough, particularly with regard to its provision for *developing the resources* of the area of Planning Schemes,

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[8]Nigeria: Second National Development Plan, 1970-74, Lagos, p. 221.

its conception of urban and regional planning is limited in scope and strongly limits effective government participation.

iv. The Ordinance continues to be narrowly interpreted as an instrument merely for the preparation of Town Plans; hence most Planning Authorities in the country are designated Town Planning Authorities (TPAs). Thus, it is no surprise to find Ministries displaying a sad ignorance of physical planning, which has been classed with the social services, and given a low priority rating, because greater emphasis is placed on economic activity than on "infrastructural" proposals. There appears to be no awareness of the fact that the Ordinance extends the objects of a planning scheme to include *developing* the resources of the area concerned, or that the Ordinance places no limitation on the meaning of the term "resources", nor restricts the area available for inclusion in a planning scheme.

v. Stemming from the lack of definite government policy about urban development, the scope and orientation of Town Planning Authorities have been limited, and in most cases confined to building control. None of these Authorities and Boards has drawn up statutory plans for urban development. Their impact on urban planning and development is further restricted, as their jurisdiction in many cases does not extend to the "old Cities". In addition, the fact that Town Planning Authorities were set up as institutions quite separate from local administrative councils in keeping with the assumed "non-political" stance of planning, led to a certain amount of competition between the two bodies.[9]

vi. The TPAs find it difficult to plan effective budgets, and have not been able to raise sufficient funds through rates and taxes such as, for instance, tenement rates. They have for many years suffered from a dearth of human and finance resources which has severely restricted their operations and stunted urban planning as a statutory responsibility of government. Indeed, the poverty of men and money has led to a vicious circle in which these very consequences have been cited as major excuses for repeatedly denying funds to Physical Planning, and evolving schemes of service (including grades of staff) appropriate to the legitimate needs of TPAs. It could in fact, be claimed, that with staff and adequate finance, TPAs can plan and execute the existing housing programmes of Housing Corporations. Apparently this alternative has not been explored, most probably because of the narrow and superficial town planning interpretation placed on the Town and Country Planning Ordinance.

vii. As a result of (v) and (vi), TPAs on whom the responsibilities for urban planning and development devolve, have not been able to carry out their proper functions in this field. Their weakness as urban

[9]Akin Mabogunje, "National Economic Planning as a Framework for Physical Development". Paper presented at the Symposium on Planning organised by the Nigerian Institute of Town Planners under the auspices of the United States Information Service, University of Lagos, Nigeria, September, 1973, p. 11.

planning institutions in the States has made it difficult for their needs to be articulated at both the State and Federal levels, so as to enable government aid to be successfully invoked. Their past records, limited funds, dearth of professional staff, and their inability to influence the volume and location of investments for industrial, commercial and infrastructural purposes, even within their own jurisdiction, by no means inspire confidence in them.

viii. State governments continue to regard urban planning and development as mainly the concern of Local Authorities – bodies which lack the financial resources, the necessary orientation and manpower to plan their urban areas. Furthermore, Local Authorities are rarely guided by their State Government over their development planning, nor are they sufficiently brought into the planning process[10].

ix Political factors have to a very great extent complicated the orderly planning and development of Metropolitan Lagos. Urban road development, for instance, has long been hampered. Political factors are also at work in the fragmentation of administrative framework in cities and in the operation of different urban laws and regulations in "city", "township" and "Sabo-gari" within the same Metropolitan area.

x. The lack of systematic research on urban and regional planning, and the dearth of trained personnel for effective development planning, flows from the fact that systematic university or other higher institutional training devoted to the analysis of problems in this field, has yet to be established in Nigeria. This has meant lack of an academic forum in which new and innovative ideas about physical planning could be generated and disseminated among practitioners. At present there are about 70 professionally-qualified town planners in Nigeria. The authorities responsible for educational planning in Nigeria have yet to realise the need to intensify training in the physical planning field.

xi. With regard to urban housing, the Housing Corporations and the LEDB are the only organisations that have planned extensive housing and industrial estates, built houses, constructed roads and provided other infrastructure on a large scale. The Corporations have, however, departed from their original programmes of providing housing for low-income urban workers and have concentrated instead on homes for high-income groups. Even so, most of their estates lack provision for schools, shops, markets, churches, recreational grounds and similar community services. In addition, there is no effective communication between the corporations and the various Town Planning divisions of Ministries. Their House Ownership Schemes, aimed at encouraging individuals to save in order to build their own homes, are not sufficiently publicised to arouse public interest.

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[10]E. O. Adeniyi, "The North-Western State Development Plan 1970-74: A Selective Appraisal". *The Nigerian Journal of Public Affairs*, Vol. III, No. 1, October, 1972, p. 56.

Moreover, they lack the necessary financial resources and manpower to embark on massive urban housing programmes. Urban housing has also suffered from the lack of a definite policy about the use and development of land and land tenure problems. Even in the Northern States, where all land by law belongs to the Government, problems of acquisition of land for governmental housing estates and private housing are becoming increasingly intractable.

Recent Trends and Prospects in Physical Planning

As a result of the mounting environmental problems created by rapid unplanned urban growth and widening disparities in area development in the country, there are indications that a number of State Governments and their agencies are gradually realising the need to ensure a proper place for urban and regional planning in the nation's development planning. A lead is being given by the Federal Government through the Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction, which has established a Regional Development Unit. The unit is to focus attention on urban and rural development in the country, co-ordinate the environmental programmes of both Federal and State Governments; co-ordinate River Basin Development; promote research and support specific urban master plans; administer grants for town and country planning and the grants for regrouping villages and hamlets in the States. The Physical Development Division of the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research at Ibadan, is also assisting both the Federal and State Governments in their urban and regional planning programmes.

The Federal Ministry of Works and Housing has, since May 1973, also detailed an official to look after Town and Country planning affairs and housing Schemes. Recently, the Federal Government embarked on an N160 million housing project in order to relieve the acute housing shortage in the State capitals. The Federal Budget for 1973-74 financial year also voted N24 million as grants to the States for the provision of rural and urban water supply, and N12 million as loans to Local Authorities to enable them to provide and develop urban utilities. These steps, in addition to the commissioning for study of the development problems and future needs of twenty major urban centres in Nigeria, show a tendency on the part of the Federal Government to give a lead in planning for urban and regional development.

There is evidence that State Governments are now following this lead. The North-Western State Government has set up Area Development Boards to co-ordinate planning at Divisional levels, and the Western State Government has re-organised its local government system so as to enable local authorities to function more effectively, and to promote integrated local development. In addition, the State in November 1973 organised an exhibition on environmental planning and development in an attempt to promote public awareness of planning needs. The Kano, Mid-Western and North-Central State Governments have set up Urban Planning and Development Boards to undertake the orderly development of their main urban centres. Other States are also attacking the problem of housing shortages in their

urban centres, and master plans are being prepared or commissioned. Meantime, the problems of rural-urban migration and disparities in the levels of development between urban and rural areas continue unabated.

Most significant of all the recent trends has been the declaration by the Federal Government that "environmental planning must now become an integral part of the country's development planning".[11] The Guidelines to the Third National Development Plan (1975-1980) also, for the first time, contain a section devoted to regional planning and is unequivocally committed to enhancing physical development within the framework of national economic planning. The Plan Guidelines assert that "the need for a clear and comprehensive regional development policy in Nigeria has arisen . . . mainly to ensure improved use of the Nigerian space so as to enhance the quality of life of citizens as development progresses, and to give concrete expression to one of the long-term objectives of the national planning effort – the promotion of a "just and egalitarian society' ".[12]

As a means of enhancing the quality of life of citizens as development progresses in the urban centres, and in order to enable the Federal Government to be actively involved in the direction of physical development in the country, the Guidelines propose the establishment of a Federal Ministry of Urban Affairs. The Ministry when established, is to co-ordinate urban policies at the national level, and it will also enable the Federal Government to intervene effectively in critical areas of urban development as the need arises. In addition, the Federal Government is to set up a National Co-ordinating Committee on Human Environment with primary responsibility for advising government on detailed measures such as legislation and the administrative framework necessary for tackling growing environmental problems in the country.

Conclusion

To sum up, it would appear that the principal causes of the relative ineffectiveness of existing institutions and organisational framework for urban and regional planning in Nigeria have not been legislative. They have been due to a lack of definite policy on urban and regional development; the low priority given to physical planning by successive Governments; the adverse attitude of economic planners to such planning, stemming from the general failure to recognise and understand the realities of urban growth and the scope for rural development; the shortage of professional staff and finance for urban planning; lack of appropriate research and training; lack of a definite policy for the use and development of land; problems of land tenure; lack of communication and co-ordination between Ministries and Governmental agencies, and political factors which have prevented an objective appraisal and solution to problems of urban and regional development.

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[11]Adebayo Adedeji, "Text of a Television Broadcast to Mark the World Environmental Day", Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Reconstruction, Lagos, June, 1973.

[12]Nigeria: "*Guidelines for the Third National Development Plan* 1975-1980", Lagos; 1974, p. 34.

Experience with past development plans has shown that usually little is achieved without the reorientation of the administrative framework to face the tasks of implementation realistically. The administration of physical planning in Nigeria has relied heavily on ideas and institutions that are designed to maintain the *status quo* and has thus not responded to the demands of a dynamic growth and complexities of the urban environment. In order to achieve the much desired objective of enhancing the quality of life of citizens in the urban centres and making them effective centres of economic and social development, there is need to design beforehand an administrative framework for an orderly co-ordination of the activities aimed at in achieving the objectives. In this regard, applied research and training can be directly encouraged by the Federal Government to look into the specific administrative problems of Nigeria's cities. The success of urban development policy and programmes in the country depends to a great extent on how effectively the essential administrative measures, processes and arrangements are introduced so as to achieve economic, social and physical goals of development.

Karachi Metropolis: Challenges of a Growing Population and the Government Response

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KARACHI, with a present population of 3.47 million[1] is a metropolis of more recent origin than other cities of comparable size in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent or in other parts of the world. When in 1843, Karachi was annexed to British India by Sir Charles Napier, it was a small fishing town with a population of only 14,000. For 90 years Karachi served as the headquarters of the Chief Commissioner of Sind; however, during this period Sind remained a part of Bombay Province. With the separation of Sind as a province in 1936, Karachi became its capital and with the birth of Pakistan in August, 1947, it was chosen as capital of the new state. This status it continued to enjoy until Field Marshal Ayub Khan, within a year of the coup of 1958, which made him President, temporarily transferred the capital from Karachi to Rawalpindi whence it was eventually shifted to the newly-built adjacent city of Islamabad.

The phenomenal increase in Karachi's population during this century is attributable to various causes. The advantageous geographical position of a seaport city has been a major factor that acquired added importance with the introduction of a large-scale irrigation system in the Punjab and Sind during the closing decades of the last and the first decades of this century. As the nearest port of exit for the produce of the area, mainly cotton and wheat, Karachi obtained new levels of growth and expansion. After partition of the sub-continent, a combination of geo-political factors continued to accelerate the growth of the city. Although at this time Karachi witnessed the mass migration of its Hindu inhabitants to India, this number was greatly exceeded by immigrants from India, who headed for the capital of the new state of Pakistan. Thus, during the 1941-51 decade, Karachi's population increased by more than 160 per cent. Since the mid-fifties, however, migration from India has been of minor effect only, and the two major factors influencing the massive population swell during the past two decades are natural increase and more importantly, very heavy rural-urban migration.

A potent lure that constantly propels rural immigrants to Karachi is the hope of finding employment in this, the country's largest city, its only port, and its industrial capital.

[1]According to the population census conducted by the Government of Pakistan in 1972. (*DAWN*, Karachi, April 15, 1973).

The following table provides a statistical illustration of Karachi's rapid population growth over the past 70 years.

TABLE

Population Growth of Karachi since 1901

Year	*Population*	*Percentage increase over the previous population census*
1901	136,297	139.0
1911	186,771	37.0
1921	244,162	30.0
1931	300,779	23.20
1941	435,887	44.90
1951	1,137,667	161.00
1961	2,044,044	79.67
1972	3,469,000	81.33

Source: (Up to 1961) Ministry of Home and Kashmir Affairs, Census Commission, *Population Census of Pakistan*, 1961, *District Census Report – Karachi and Census Bulletin No* 2 (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1961). Source: (1972) DAWN, Karachi, April 15, 1973.

Major Problems of Karachi

The national, provincial and municipal governments have been involved in attempts to meet the immense requirements and challenges of a population that has grown and continues to grow at a phenomenal rate. Such accelerated population growth has generated severe strains in practically every respect of metropolitan life particularly in the areas of housing, planning, municipal services and public utilities, education, health, power supply, recreational facilities, and transport.

According to a recent estimate, 22 per cent of the dwellings in Karachi are *kutcha* (constructed with mud as its principal component) or are *jhuggies* (shanties made of reed, bamboo, matting, jute sacks, tin or wood) accommodating about 19 per cent of the entire population.[2] In addition, there is a substantial number of dilapidated houses.

During the last 25 years the national and provincial governments have been directly involved in providing housing to low-income groups in the city. With an expenditure of Rs. 650 million (out of a total of Rs. 1130 million for the whole of Pakistan) the national and provincial governments have been able to construct 74,450 dwellings and "develop" 56,550 plots of land for housing. However, according to a conservative estimate there are

[2]Karachi Development Authority, Town Planning Department, *Presentation of Planning and Development Aspects of Karachi to President Zulfiqar Ali Butto* (Karachi Development Authority, 1972, Cyclostyled), p. 5.

still some 125,000 families, with an average of four or five persons per household, who are living in *jhuggies* in Karachi[3].

It is also now open to question whether public housing schemes have provided a satisfactory answer to the problem of resettling those living in slums and squatter settlements. Indeed, the current emphasis seems to be on slum improvement rather than slum clearance[4].

The economic aspect is of course basic as far as the housing problem is concerned: about 60 per cent of the households in Karachi have a monthly income not exceeding Rs 300, making it extremely difficult for them to own or rent proper housing[5].

Another problem of staggering dimensions that confronts Karachi is provision of public utilities and municipal services for a vastly-enlarged and continuously-growing population. Water supply is among the most serious of such challenges and Karachi provides an interesting case-study of the constant necessity of stepping up supply targets in an endeavour to keep pace with ever-increasing population figures. Karachi's pre-partition water supply, based on a system of reservoirs and catchments, was adequate for the requirements of a population of approximately 400,000. With the increase of the city's population to one million by 1951, an acute water shortage was experienced, not overcome even by doubling storage facilities, and necessitating the urgent devising of more elaborate measures in the form of the phased Greater Karachi Bulk Water Supply Scheme which, together with its two ancillary projects, the Greater Karachi water mains scheme and Greater Karachi sewage and sewerage disposal scheme, was undertaken with loans from abroad. Conveying water to Karachi mainly from the river Indus over a distance of some 70 miles, the scheme had augmented the city's water supply by 70 million gallons a day by 1965. However, by 1970, with the population crossing the three million mark, the water supply was once again insufficient and despite the present almost doubled volume of 130 million gallons a day[6], the supply remains inadequate for a metropolitan population increasing at an average annual rate of 150,000.

Similar patterns of staggering demand growth are to be evidenced in the case of other public utilities and municipal services. Thus, electricity consumption in Karachi spurted from 10 MW in 1948 to 25 MW in 1955, 53 by 1960, 122 MW by 1965 and is estimated to have been in the range of 320 MW in 1970[7].

Yet another problem produced by the rapid influx of migrants is a rapid increase in slums and the sprouting of squatter settlements in all parts of

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[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Z. A. Nizami, *Report on International Seminar on Administration and Housing in Sub-Integrated Urban Settlements* held at Berlin and Tehran, May-June, 1972 (Karachi Development Authority, 1972, Cyclostyled), p. 16.

[5] S. H. Hashmi, "Slums and Squatter Settlements in Developing Countries: Need for a Positive Strategy of Rural-Urban Development". *Pakistan Administrative Staff College Journal*, XI, No. 1 (June, 1973).

[6] *DAWN*, Karachi, May 25, 1971.

[7] M. Masihuddin, "Urbanization and Electric Power Supply", *Problems of Urbanization in Pakistan*, eds. S. H. Hashmi and Garth N. Jones (Karachi, National Institute of Public Administration, 1967), p. 213.

Karachi. Initial research undertaken by the Joint Pakistan-Netherlands Research Project for Slum Improvement and Urban Development has thrown some light on the vast dimensions which have been assumed by the slum phenomenon in Karachi, and the problems posed for the government and administration of the city by more than 300 slums and squatter settlements inhabited by over a million people. These problems run the gamut from housing to sanitation and hygiene, provision of public utilities, educational and health services and the difficulty, if not impossibility of collecting municipal taxes in such areas[8].

Another major problem for most inhabitants of the city is one of transport. According to a recent survey, 93 per cent of travel to work is undertaken in Karachi by buses, the average distance covered being 5.9 miles. Yet, on an average only about 800 or fewer buses ply the roads on any particular day[9].

In discussing the problems created by the city's increased population it is pertinent to note some demographic and cultural characteristics of the refugee and immigrant groups which have also been dysfunctional in urban integration and development. The early refugee influx brought to the city groups with diverse ethnic and cultural affinities. There was a conspicuous lack of "belonging" relative to the city on the part of the newcomers, and while the original population, after the exodus of the Hindus, was submerged by this "invasion", the heterogeneity of the immigrant groups thwarted the growth of any new community feeling. With a flow of rural/urban migrants in substitution for refugee immigrants, another emergent problem is the inability of the villager-turned-townsman to contribute significantly to urban living on account of various limitations – lack of education and vocational training, meagre earnings further diminished by remittances to dependants in the home village[10], near absence of urban consciousness and, equally important, non-existence of loyalties to the city combined with a sense of frustration occasioned by the gap between expectations and fulfilment. The disproportionate sex ratio produced by the immigration of male workers minus families contributes to the unsatisfactory social climate in many shanty settlements.

Part of the physical aspect of Karachi's malady is directly attributable to the absence of planned development, the fact that Karachi has continued to grow and expand at a furious pace without the benefit of a master plan to control or direct its present pattern and future growth. The absence of such

[8]The conditions and problems of slums and squatter settlements of Karachi have been discussed at length in S. H. Hashmi, "The Slums of Karachi: A Conspectus" (Karachi, Joint Research Project for Slum Improvement and Urban Development, 1972, Cyclostyled).

[9]The total number of motor vehicles, including private cars and taxis running on Karachi roads, is 130,000. The figure was 63,000 a decade ago. It is also interesting to note that the number of vehicles per 1,000 persons in Karachi is 30, whereas for the rest of Pakistan it is only 1. (Karachi Development Authority, Town Planning Department, *Presentation of Planning*, *op. cit.*, p. 10).

[10]The remittance of a sizeable proportion of incomes is particularly noted in the case of Pathans, the in-migrants from the North-West Frontier Province, who constitute a majority of the estimated one million dwellers of slums and squatter settlements in Karachi.

comprehensive planning[11], covering land use and building control, has contributed to the emergence of such phenomena as unauthorised settlements, ribbon development and a state of extreme congestion resulting from the indiscriminate use of open space within the city for new construction. This haphazard urban sprawl has also been productive of the epiphenomenon of a confused hodge-podge of land uses with a random jumbling together of residential, commercial or industrial areas that greatly complicates the task of providing utilities and municipal services – apart from the undesirability of such a situation in other respects.

A Master Plan was prepared for Karachi as early as 1951 by a professional Swedish firm of city planners, Merz Rendel Vatten. However, the planning was undertaken without the availability of reliable data and was based on insufficient research. The plan, which was neither rejected nor accorded formal approval by the government, was thus unrealistically based on a projection of the Karachi population as three million by the year 2000[12] – a figure that was, however, realised in twenty instead of 50 years.

While lack of comprehensive, overall planning is responsible to some extent for the physical problems of Karachi, the city organism is also beleaguered by other ills, many of which can be related to an out-dated governmental and administrative system, insufficient municipal revenues and an inadequate legal base for action.

Municipal Government

Karachi had its first municipal government as early as 1852. A decade later the Karachi municipality levied a house tax on property owners; thus it became a pioneer in the introduction of direct taxation in the sub-continent. The municipality continued to progress and undertake an increasing number of functions; its revenues also rose steadily.

When Pakistan became an independent State, the Municipal Council was a wholly elected body; this was, however, replaced in 1960 by one part elected, part nominated in accordance with the provisions of the Municipal Administration Ordinance of that year – in force till 1971, and partially operative today. The elected component comprised the chairmen of the city's union committees[13] with the nominated component representing women, "special interests" and bureaucrats. The elected mayor gave place to an appointed chairman, a government official[14]. The advantages of an

[11]A joint project upon which the Government of Pakistan and the United Nations Development Fund has been engaged for the last three years has been the preparation of a comprehensive master plan not only for the Karachi metropolitan area but for a much wider Karachi region. The project has had the involvement of Pakistani town planners and UN experts in planning and social development and is concerned not only with physical planning but also social and economic development and includes proposals for planned development of Karachi region up to the year 2000.

[12]Government of Pakistan, *Report on Greater Karachi Plan* (Karachi, Karachi Development Authority, 1967), p. 27.

[13]The Union Committee was the lowest rung in a pyramidial hierarchy of Councils introduced as a system of local government under the Basic Democracies Scheme, in force in Pakistan between 1959 and 1971 and still partially in existence.

[14]For further details about the structure and functions of municipal government in Pakistan see Garth N. Jones, "Municipal Administration in Pakistan: Elements Contributing Towards a Modernisation Complex", *NIPA Journal*, Karachi, VI, No. 4 (December, 1967), 190-9.

arrangement of this nature were envisaged as improved communication between the people and the bureaucracy[15]. However, this benefit was negated by the system's "built-in" dual government control mechanism. Control was exercised not only through the bureaucrat chairman but also through a "controlling authority" – now the Deputy Commissioner of Karachi – empowered to veto municipal corporation decisions[16].

The elected representative-bureaucrat combination suffered also from some other not insignificant shortcomings. Rather than serve as the mouthpiece of his constituents, the elected Basic Democrat often found it expedient to be in the good books of the bureaucrat. Another flaw lay in the chairing of the municipal committee by a government official prone to transfer within such a short period of time that his contribution to municipal government was likely to be negligible.

Multiplicity of Agencies

At local level Karachi, like other cities of Pakistan, is faced with the problem of a multitude of agencies, all performing municipal and related functions. Thus between 1958 and 1971, almost 400 local bodies, responsible in some measure for municipal functions, were in existence in the Karachi Metropolis[17].

At present the following agencies render some form of municipal service within their respective jurisdictions:

I. Municipal Authorities
   Karachi Municipal Corporation
   Korangi-Landhi Municipal Committee

II. Cantonment Boards
   Karachi Cantonment Board
   Drigh Road Cantonment Board
   Malir Cantonment Board
   Manora Cantonment Board

III. Ad Hoc Authorities
   Karachi Development Authority
   Karachi Port Trust
   Sind Industrial Trading Estate
   Landhi Industrial Trading Estate
   Co-operative Housing Societies

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[15]Former President Ayub Khan has given the reasons for adoption of this system as follows: "The association (of Basic Democrats) with the officials had produced two wholesome results: in the first instance, it was acting as a check on the working of the government; and, secondly, and more important, it was providing the Basic Democrats with an opportunity not only to understand how government functions but also to supervise and guide its functioning". *Friends Not Masters* (Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 228.

[16]Government of Pakistan, *The Municipal Administration Ordinance*, 1960 (Karachi, Government of Pakistan Press, 1960).

[17]Karachi Local Authorities Reorganisation Committee, *Final Report* (Karachi, 1968), pp. 3-4.

IV. Local Councils
Town Committees
(i) Baldia Town Committee
(ii) North Karachi Town Committee
District Council

V. Local Offices and Officers of Provincial and Central Government partly responsible for performing municipal functions
Pakistan Public Works Department (responsible for providing some municipal services to areas where central government has provided housing to its employees)

West Pakistan Highway Department (responsible for the maintenance of roads in certain areas of the city)
Military Estates Service (responsible for cantonments)
Civil Aviation Authority (responsible for the maintenance of airport and adjoining areas)
Deputy Commissioner of Karachi (as controlling authority for Karachi Municipal Corporation and Town Committees and Chairman of District Council).

While the professed reason for the creation of some of these bodies was to assist the Municipal Corporation and Committees in the discharge of greatly-increased responsibilities, the result in effect, has been steadily to strip the authorities of their powers and mete out their responsibilities among other agencies, thus creating problems of overlapping of functions as well as jurisdiction.

Among the multifarious agencies listed, the most powerful rival to the Karachi Municipal Corporation is the Karachi Development Authority (KDA). This organisation was created in 1957 as a successor to the Karachi Improvement Trust, with the primary objective of (a) providing control, direction and encouragement to the development of housing projects which were desperately needed because of the tremendous increase in the population of the metropolis, and (b) assuming responsibility for overall planning in the metropolitan area. Later, responsibility for the city water supply was a function partly entrusted to KDA; the arrangement being that KDA would supply water in bulk to the Karachi Municipal Corporation, by far the largest consumer, and also to the Trading Estates, the Housing Societies and other agencies performing municipal functions, with such bodies assuming responsibility for retail distribution within the areas under their respective jurisdiction. Under this arrangement, however, the Karachi Municipal Corporation finds itself in the role of a loss-making retailer since it is unable to collect sufficient dues from the consuming public to reimburse KDA to whom it is thus in perpetual and increasing debt[18].

The Cantonment Boards form another disparate piece in the variegated local administration structure. When created by the British, a cantonment board was a self-administered military station in the vicinity of a large city. With the burgeoning of urban areas many cantonments were physically

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

absorbed in the city proper as was the case with Karachi. However, the cantonment areas continue to lie outside the jurisdiction of the municipal corporation and each has an independent administrative system headed by the station commander. Since the Ministry of Defence is the "controlling authority" for cantonments, this system embodies the presence of the central government on the local scene.

Other authorities situate within the physical limits of Karachi, many of which do not avail themselves of the services of the Municipal Corporation, are co-operative housing societies which have mushroomed since partition. Karachi presently has 131[19]. Many of these societies perform some municipal functions such as construction and maintenance of roads, the provision of a water supply, of sewerage and drainage. Whereas in the past the contribution made by these societies in meeting the acute housing shortage was valuable, they have proved inept for the role of municipal service agencies on account of their lack of means and trained personnel.

Besides the host of purely local authorities with municipal responsibilities functioning within Karachi, is also a not insignificant number of *quasi*-local bodies, the local establishments of provincial and central government departments. It is curious that government at supra-local levels, aware of the limited resources and heavy responsibilities of Karachi's local government, has endeavoured to come to its aid not by strengthening the municipal corporation but by undertaking to provide municipal functions, thereby adding a further element of complexity to the existing tangle.

The administrative patchwork of authorities assigned local functions without clearly demarcated jurisdiction not only creates bottlenecks in the rendering of municipal services, but is also problematic for other concerns engaged in providing utilities. The Karachi Gas Corporation, for instance, faces the situation of having to obtain approval from nineteen different authorities for plans detailing new gas mains for the city. Maps must thus be made and remade until assent is forthcoming from all these bodies[20].

Sind People's Local Government Ordinance, 1972

Karachi, like other cities of Pakistan, is presently governed by the Municipal Administration Ordinance, 1960, less its provisions for representative institutions. However, this Ordinance is being replaced by the People's Local Government Ordinance, 1972, which has been promulgated by the Government of Sind, but like similar local government ordinances in other provinces, awaits enforcement until elections are held for local government bodies. The newly-enacted statute provides for a two-tier local government structure in Karachi, with the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation forming the higher tier and six regional Municipal Committees the lower. An all-important provision calls for the direct election by the people of all members of these bodies.

The People's Local Government Ordinance must be regarded as progressive and positive legislation, particularly in its restoration of fully-representative

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[20] T. R. Sharique, "Natural Gas Supply for Karachi", *Problems of Urbanisation in Pakistan, op. cit.*, p. 228.

local government. However, there remain other important matters which lie outside the provisions of the ordinance. The Cantonment Boards, *Ad-Hoc* Authorities, Central and Provincial Agencies dealing with local affairs will all continue to function even after the new law comes into force, while the future of the powerful KDA remains uncertain.

It is apparent that the Central and Provincial Governments must give their urgent attention to the question of administrative reform aimed at avoiding all unnecessary duplication of municipal functions and powers. A desirable and necessary step for the rationalisation and increased efficiency of municipal government is the abolition of authorities such as Cantonment Boards and the KDA. Similarly, municipal functions must be transferred from such federal and provincial agencies as the Public Works Department and the Highway Department to the municipal authorities. Not all such changes can, however, be expected to materialise in the near future. The simplest of the needed major changes appears to be a merger of Karachi Development Authority with the proposed Karachi Metropolitan Corporation. Unlike the questions relating to the abolition of Cantonment Boards and the transfer of properly municipal functions from the federal and provincial governments to municipal authorities, which are matters of general policy and must necessarily be decided on an All-Pakistan basis, the problem of KDA's future can be tackled without delay. The KDA symbolises the bureaucratisation of local government; since bureaucratic power was at its zenith during the Ayub and Yahya regimes (1958-71) KDA thrived at the expense of such a (then) partly representative institution as Karachi Municipal Corporation. It has been the policy of the present People's Party government to curtail bureaucratic powers and to increase power for representative institutions. It could, therefore, be expected that the KDA will either be accorded a subordinate independent status or that it will be merged with the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation. The latter would be a step in the right direction since overall planning and certain other municipal functions presently performed by KDA as a separate and autonomous entity would then be discharged by a municipal body which would be in a position to have an overall view of the problems of the metropolis and which would also be accountable to the people.

As mentioned earlier the abolition of Cantonment Boards may not be an easy matter. The cantonments are directly under the Federal Ministry of Defence and it is doubtful if this Ministry would surrender its "empire" very readily. Moreover, cantonment boards are scattered all over Pakistan and if they are abolished in Karachi the Ministry of Defence would doubtless be confronted with demands for their abolition elsewhere.

Similarly, such well-entrenched and powerful federal and provincial government agencies such as the Public Works Department and the Highway Department would put up strong resistance against the transfer of some of their functions to local authorities.

It is apparent that local government in Karachi as in other parts of Pakistan, after its severe mauling by the military-civil bureaucratic polity of 1958-71, will need to acquire much new muscle to fight for its due rights and powers.

Staff Inspection and Manpower Utilization: The Experience of the Western Nigeria Civil Service, 1966-70

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Introduction

One of the problems facing the civil service of new states is how to assess the manpower requirements of ministries and departments. By systematically reviewing the work-load of organisations, staff inspectors are presumed to be competent in tackling this problem. However, experience has demonstrated that the effectiveness of staff inspectors is frequently limited by circumstances beyond their control. Focusing attention on the period 1966-70, this article discusses problems of staff inspection in the Western Nigeria civil service.

Staff Inspection Work: Historical Background

As far back as 1958, an O & M (Organisation and Methods) Branch was created in the then Western Region as part of the Establishments Division of the Treasury. According to a Ministry of Finance Circular, the Branch was set up to

> "advise Permanent Secretaries and Heads of Departments upon organisation and upon modern office methods, equipment and procedure"[1].

The emergence of the Branch coincided with the period when the West Regional Government began to introduce "austerity" measures, and although staff inspection was not explicitly stated as one of the functions of the O & M Branch, the Branch, in collaboration with the Establishments Division, initiated a number of staff inspection assignments the majority of which ended with proposals for staff reductions and "manpower savings".

The Branch encountered two types of problems in carrying out staff inspection assignments in the early stages of its establishment. The first could be attributed to the absence of a frame of reference for staff inspection work. The assignments were carried out on an *ad hoc* basis, and the departments whose staffing positions were being investigated rarely agreed with the criteria adopted by the O & M Branch in computing their "manpower requirements". The second type of problem was how to ensure that the proposals for "manpower savings" resulted in *actual* savings – i.e. efficient utilisation of available manpower resources. The decay of political institutions

[1]Ministry of Finance Circular No. C. 25742/7 of 16th May, 1957.

after 1962, especially, had adverse effect on the utilisation of resources generally. In fact, a study carried out in the civil service during this period revealed an alarming situation – i.e. with the exception of clerical and sub-clerical staff (who felt that they had reached the peak of their performance) other classes of officers were of the view that Government of Western Nigeria was not getting "value for money"[2]. The same study revealed that the junior officers were dissatisfied with the civil service compensation system. This undoubtedly affected their attitude to work.

The post-coup period, 1966-70, witnessed the introduction of *planned* (instead of *ad hoc*) review of staffing positions in departments. Roughly three factors account for the new interest in staff inspection, viz: the military regime's commitment to administrative reform, the economic problems facing the Western Region (which became the Western State with the creation of states in 1967), and the improvement in the capability of the O and M Division.

As pointed out earlier, the decay of political institutions in the period immediately after independence subsequently rubbed off on the administrative system. When the military intervened in January 1966, it set out to redress the wrongs of the past by banning the erstwhile political institutions and by injecting a sense of urgency and direction in administration.

The need to regenerate administrative institutions in the Western State became particularly urgent because the military not only inherited a general slackness in administration, it also took over the responsibility for an ailing economy. In his first Budget Speech, the first Military Governor of the State, the late Lt.-Col. F. A. Fajuyi, declared:

> ". . . with the background I have just depicted, it will be . . . strange if I should tell you that our economic situation has been buoyant. It certainly has not been."[3]

Two years later, the budget theme was the same. Thus, Brigadier Adeyinka Adebayo, who succeeded Fajuyi as Military Governor, observed in his 1968-69 Budget Speech, that:

> ". . . we (the people in government) are passing through very difficult times, and this has been reflected in the Budget for this year . . ."[4].

The Nigerian civil war, which started in 1967 and ended in 1970, also had the effect of straining the already scarce resources.

The reorganisation of the O and M Division in 1966 enabled the Division to take on additional responsibilities in the field of staff inspection. Before that year, there was only one Branch (the O and M Branch) with a staff of 8 officers. With the creation of the Staff Inspection Branch in 1966, the number of officers employed in the O and M Division was modestly increased to 13.

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[2]*Report of the Committee on the Relationship Between Remuneration and Productivity in Western Nigeria Public Service.* Government Printer, Ibadan, June, 1963.

[3]Budget Speech by the Military Governor, Lt.-Col. F. A. Fajuyi, 1966-67 Financial Year.

[4]Budget Speech by the Military Governor of the Western State, Brigadier Adeyinka Adebayo, 1968-69 Financial Year.

However, the Division might still not have engaged in the planned review of departmental establishments if an alarm had not been raised about manpower utilisation in the civil service. In 1963, a high-powered committee (Committee on Remuneration and Productivity) made a startling revelation about the tendency of civil servants' remuneration to outpace productivity[5]. The committee was also of the view that several units were over-staffed. Even though no immediate action was taken on the committee's report, there was no doubt that sooner or later steps would have to be taken to rectify the situation. The next section discusses the staff complementing exercises conducted between 1966 and 1970.

Planned Review of Departmental Establishments

One of the important lessons offered by the Fulton Committee is that before prescribing solutions to problems facing governmental organisations, it is necessary to "look at the job first"[6]. This lesson is particularly relevant to staff complementing problems. Yet, despite the efforts made by the O and M Division to "look at the job", conflict frequently arose over the appropriate criteria to employ in assessing the department's manpower requirements.

While the Establishments Division of the Ministry of Establishments emphasise the need for austerity, the executive departments were apt to call attention to a number of development programmes which were shelved or delayed as a result of "shortage of staff". The planned staff inspection exercises which began in 1966 provided a means of verifying conflicting theories about manpower utilisation at the lowest levels of the civil service.

On 11th August, 1966, the O and M Division sent out a circular letter asking all departments to forward comprehensive data on all clerks, typists and messengers actually on their payroll[7]. The departments were also required to furnish information on *how* these officers were deployed.

Although only very few departments were able to supply the necessary information, the exercise continued as planned. The first batch of planned reviews covered five departments – the Public Service Commission, the Local Government Service Board, the Military Governor's Office, the Ministries of Justice, and Agriculture and Natural Resources. Eleven other ministries and departments were covered between 1967 and 1970 – viz. Education, Lands and Housing, Health, Home Affairs and Information, Economic Planning and Social Development, Audit, Trade and Industry, Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, Works and Transport, and Establishments and Training.

The most interesting point about these exercises is the frequency with which the staff inspectors conceded staff increases to departments. Of the eleven assignments undertaken between 1967 and 1970, the O and M Division

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[5]Report of the Committee on the Relationship Between Remuneration and Productivity, *op. cit.*

[6]*The Civil Service*, Vol. 1, Report of the (Fulton) Committee, 1966-68 Cmnd. 3638, H.M.S.O., London, para. 24.

[7]Circular letter No. OM. 150/16 of 11th August, 1966.

recommended staff increases in six – Lands and Housing, Health, Economic Planning and Social Development, Audit Department, Works and Transport, and Establishments and Training.

In others, the staff inspectors proposed decreases. But no matter whether they recommended staff increases or decreases, the staff inspectors frequently encountered problems. The next section discusses these problems.

Problems of Staff Inspection

The O and M Division obviously had reasons for conceding staff increases to departments. On the basis of the empirical studies carried out in these departments, it was discovered that many of them were genuinely hard-pressed. This contradicted the earlier thesis – put forward by the Productivity Committee – that departments were overstaffed and civil servants under-employed. However, the experience of the O and M Division shows that it is not enough to look at jobs; it is also necessary to look at them in terms of the economic situation confronting the administrative system. Most frequently, the Establishments Division adopted the economic criterion in assessing a department's manpower requirements. In theory, the staff inspection reports submitted by the O and M Division could not be rejected because, in accordance with Government policy, they were mandatory. Nonetheless, while not directly rejecting the staff inspectors' proposals for staff increases, the Establishments Division was known to put such proposals in cold storage or to "stagger" the increases over a long period. A notable case was that of the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources which wanted to mechanise accounting work on Farm Settlements. When an O and M team studied the case, it discovered that the volume of accounting work carried out on the Settlements did not justify the purchase of accounting machines. What was needed was more clerical staff. On the basis of this recommendation, the Ministry of Agriculture submitted an Advance Proposal incorporating the request for additional clerical staff. However, the Establishments Division would "not support" the request.

Although some departments were frustrated by what they considered as the futility of the complementing exercise, it would be unfair to lay the blame on the door-step of the O and M Division. As one Permanent Secretary told the author:

> "It is the duty of the O and M Division to examine facts and figures, and recommend what is *desirable*, and it is up to the Treasury Board, the Executive Council or the Ministry of Finance to do what is practicable."

In any event, the Establishments Division's austere attitude merely reflected the government's concern over the deteriorating economic situation. Thus, in 1969, the Ministry of Establishments sent out a circular letter in which it warned:

> ". . . in view of the present economic situation, the Ministry of Finance has stated categorically that for the 1970-71 Estimates it will not support any increase in the Personal Emoluments vote arising from new establishments in any Ministry or Department. Accordingly, this Ministry (Establishments) will also not entertain proposals for the creation of new posts

or for increases in the establishments of existing posts unless the need for such posts is convincingly established and, in any event, unless equivalent reductions are offered in the establishment of some other posts . . ."[8].

At times, the O and M Division itself recommended decreases in staff or vetoed increases. For instance, apart from the "austerity" measures proposed by the Division in the earliest *ad hoc* surveys, the planned review of clerical, typist and messengerial grades also threw light on areas where manpower savings could be effected. Thus in the assignments carried out between 1967 and 1970, five Ministries were considered to be overstaffed, i.e. – Justice, Education, Home Affairs and Information, Trade and Industry, Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs.

In departments where officers were declared redundant, the O and M Division recommended redeployment rather than outright severance. This meant that the departments concerned could not fill existing vacancies until redundant men were fully re-employed.

The "client" departments seldom agreed that they were over-staffed. The view that is generally held is that the efficiency of each department would have risen if the staffing position had improved. For instance, in pressing his department's case for staff increases, a Permanent Secretary pointed out:

> "It is my view that the present staff situation is very crippling indeed, and I do not think that the Ministry can continue like this without a serious breakdown in efficiency."

Such passionate pleas for staff increases have been made by several other departments but those on which documentary evidence is available are the Judicial Department (1966), the Ministry of Education (1967), the State School Board and the Local School Boards (1970). It is also necessary to point out that nearly all departments included proposals for additional staff in framing their Estimates – this was probably in anticipation of reduction in complement. In the absence of empirical evidence, it is difficult to ascertain whether demands for staff increases were motivated by supervising officers' inclination to administrative empire-building (as, in fact, argued by the Productivity Committee in 1963)[9] or by genuine pressures on existing complement. Whatever the reason, it will be difficult to control administrative overheads unless sound criteria for determining departments' staff requirements are introduced.

It should be added that departments did not often take kindly to staff inspection reports which restricted their complements. Some departments, in fact, had a way of side-stepping such "unfavourable" reports. To start with, they might "clear" proposals for staff increases with higher authorities (like the Executive Council) rather than go through the difficult process of staff inspection. Consequently, when introducing new programmes, departments were often careful to include in the relevant Executive Council Memoranda, a rider conferring upon them the authority to appoint the

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[8]Ministry of Establishments Circular Ed. 1/1/139 of 4th September, 1969.
[9]See Report of the Productivity Committee, *op. cit.*, para. 27.

necessary staff.[10] Moreover, when departments took decisions which affected existing policy of the Government, they contacted the Executive Council direct rather than the O and M Division. Departments could even appeal to higher executive organs against the judgment of the O and M Division. Discussions of departmental estimates at the Estimates Committee, Treasury Board or Executive Council meetings, for instance, provided department heads the opportunity of putting their case before the government policy makers. Whether or not a department's case would succeed at this second hearing depended largely upon the influence wielded by its representatives, i.e. the Commissioner (who, after the military coup, replaced the Minister as the political head of department) and his expert advisers. T. M. Aluho has pointed out how he, as Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Works and Transport, secured through personal contact with the Ministry of Establishments, the personnel requirements of his department[11]. And the Audit Department was able to persuade the Treasury Board that it (the Audit Department) needed more staff than the O and M Division had proposed[12]. This, however, is not to say that staff complementing decisions were, as a rule, based on personal influence. In fact, the economic problem facing the Government compelled it to be very stringent in matters pertaining to manpower utilisation.

The problem with staff inspection is that it is not a science, let alone a precise one. As the author has argued elsewhere, different observers of the work situation see different things[13].

As far as the Western State was concerned, the problem of staff inspection was complicated by the civil service management style which did not permit O and M officers to ask specific questions on departmental outputs. The tendency, therefore, was to concentrate on the inputs. Even the Productivity Committee – with all its emphasis on measures designed to combat overstaffing – regarded the measurement of outputs as a difficult, if not an impossible, task. Thus, in looking for a solution to the problem of civil service efficiency, the committee turned to the inputs as the area most responsive to control. The outputs, in the committee's opinion, were less amenable to measurement and control. It was

> "convinced that a quantifiable output is an exception rather than the rule in the civil service"[14].

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[10]This device was successfully employed by the Treasury when establishing the O & M Branch in 1957, and by the Ministry of Economic Planning and Social Development following the decision to expand the Ministry's scope as from the 1961-62 financial year.

[11]See T. M. Aluko's contribution in *Nigerian Administration and its Political Setting*, edited by Adebayo Adedeji, Hutchinson Educational, London, 1968.

[12]The explanation for this is that as a department with a vital role to play in the auditing of accounts, the Government could not turn a deaf ear to its request for staff.

[13]M. J. Balogun, "A Framework for the Measurement of Governmental Efficiency", *Administration*, Vol. VII, No. 1, October, 1972, pp. 27-28.

[14]Report of the Committee on Remuneration and Productivity, *op. cit.*, para. 11. This view is endorsed by the Adebo Commission on the Review of Salaries. *See White Paper on the Second and Final Report of the Wages and Salaries Review Commission*, 1970-71, Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, 1971, para. 127.

This view is in sharp contrast to the one held by the Fulton Committee in commending the accountable management style to the British civil service. Unless individuals and units are held accountable for certain tasks, it will be difficult to establish in an accurate and "convincing" manner the manpower needs of departments.

Conclusion

In this article, an attempt has been made to examine the staff inspection reviews carried out at the clerical, typist and messengerial grades between 1966 and 1970. The experience of the O and M Division during this period demonstrates the need for *constant* review of staffing positions if only to be aware of departments where staffing situations are critical.

There is a temptation to conclude – on the basis of limited knowledge – that some governmental units are overstaffed or understaffed. Only an empirical study of the patterns and processes of manpower utilisation can provide a relatively reliable indication of staffing positions in departments.

However, the experience of Western Nigeria shows the difficulty in determining the manpower requirements of departments at a time when the measurement criteria were not clearly established. While the staff inspectors had a fairly clear idea of what they wanted – i.e. economic utilisation of staff – there was no consensus on how to bring this about.

But even more difficult than the technical, methodological problem of staff complementing was the problem of manpower utilisation. Although the staff inspectors most frequently set out with the aim of reducing staff costs, their efforts were nullified by behavioural and ecological factors. If the post-independence experience of the Western Nigeria civil service offers any lesson, it is that these two factors are critical to the success of staff complementing exercises. If motivation is inhibited by the system of reward and compensation, if the quality of supervision is low, and, above all, if the political authority condones general inefficiency, then the best plans conceived by management improvement units will tend to abort.

Quarterly Notes

THE GEZIRA SCHEME – *Silver Jubilee of Nationalisation*

1st July, 1975, will mark the Silver Jubilee of the Nationalisation of the Gezira Scheme and the setting-up of the Sudan Gezira Board, and the Management Committee of the Board is considering celebrating the occasion in two ways:

a. holding a Conference with a central theme such as, "The role of the Sudan Gezira Scheme in the Agricultural and Socio-economic development of the Sudan", and

b. holding an agricultural show to demonstrate developments in all fields.

The two and a half decades since the Scheme was nationalised have seen the development of the Managil South-Western and Gezira Extensions, more than doubling the cultivable area of 2.1 million acres held by 100,000 tenant-farmers. The same period has also witnessed the construction of the Roseries Dam in two stages, with a total capacity of 10.2 milliard cubic metres, which will be achieved by the heightening of the Dam by 10 metres.

Noticeable development trends in the Gezira Scheme, today, are the diversification of crop production (no longer concentrating on cotton alone), the fixing of self-sufficiency targets in food crops, the availability of a sizeable surplus for export, the establishment of agro-based industries, and the introduction of large-scale mechanisation.

Source: Press Release – Sudan Gezira Board Planning and Development Department, Oct. 74.

JAPAN – *New Study of Air Pollution*

The *Tokyo Municipal News* has announced that a nation-wide study on air pollution will be conducted this year, using for the purpose the well-known plant, Morning Glory.

Researchers will note the Photochemical smog effects on the plant in industrial and rural areas, and regions where car traffic is heavy, and a map indicating the state of pollution in the whole country will be drawn up for use in working out the measures for combating smog.

Ten Morning Glories were planted last year in a school at Mitaka, and every day teachers and students recorded the changes observed; the leaves of the plants, white originally, gradually became black and finally withered. Photochemical smog affects people as well, of course, causing sore eyes and dizziness and perhaps, other as yet unidentified troubles.

Source: *IULA News*, October, 1974

UNITED NATIONS – *Organisational Changes in Public Administration*

In the early 1960s, the late John M. Pfiffner, (asked) "Why not make social science operational?" The need to integrate social science knowledge

with public managerial processes more than a decade ago was recognised by public administration scholars and practitioners alike as a pressing problem. A recent statement by Bernard Berelson concerning family planning would indicate that little progress has been made since the publication of Professor Pfiffner's article. "If there is one deficiency in this field", Berelson writes, "that is more serious than any other . . it is a general lack of implemental machinery. We do not have a cadre of people who can organise a governmental programme . . . and apply it to a large population and run it successfully."

The late Prime Minister Nehru of India is reported to have queried: "We have had lots of advice from experts on how to make plans but when shall we hear something on *how to implement them*?" He was not the only national leader at that time publicly asking this question. Public officials and administrators at all levels of government were becoming increasingly frustrated and concerned with efforts to implement development programmes.

There are encouraging signs that at last these barriers are breaking down, with greater interaction between all persons interested in the problems of organisational change now taking place.

After studying nine large-scale programmes on planned change which took place in India, the United Kingdom and the United States, Professor L. E. Greiner reported ten sequential conditions which seem to differentiate the successful from the less successful:

(a) The organisation was under great pressures for improvement, both from within and outside the organisational unit;

(b) The organisation and its management experienced great difficulty in coping with the pressures;

(c) A newcomer with experience and a reputation for improving organisations entered the picture;

(d) The newcomer entered the organisation at or near the top and began to work with top-level managers;

(e) An initial act of the newcomer was to clarify the working relationships he wished to have with the organisation;

(f) The head man of the organisation assumed a direct and highly-involved role in implementing the changes;

(g) The newcomer engaged many parts of the organisation in collaborative fact-finding, problem-solving diagnoses of organisational problems;

(h) The newcomer provided new methods and recommendations for solving problems and taking action;

(i) The newcomer's proposals were tested on a small scale and found useful for the problem-solving before they were introduced to the rest of the organisation;

(j) The change effort was spread through a series of success experiences and absorbed into other parts of the organisation.

The less successful change efforts, according to Professor Greiner, showed uneven gaps in these sequential activities.

Source: *Public Administration Newsletter*, No. 51

INDIA – *Action Research and the Production of Media*

In the summer of 1973 a three-man team from the Agricultural Extension and Rural Development Centre of the University of Reading was invited by the Farm Information Unit of the Ministry of Agriculture in New Delhi to collaborate with them in a Field Workshop focused on one of their most intractable problems – how to convey technical information through media – printed matter, visual aids, films and radio broadcasts – to the vast, scattered and largely illiterate population of small farmers, still on the fringes of the green revolution. The Workshop was based on the belief that a solution to this problem might be found by incorporating action research into the production of media so as to provide a reliable feed-back system to help the media producers in selecting and communicating their messages.

A detailed 33 page report of the Workshop* has been put together jointly by Indian and British editors, designed and produced by the University of Reading Typography Unit, and illustrated with photographs of action research in action, examples of questionnaires, and reproductions of some of the media used. Although two years have passed since the Workshop, the techniques described in the report are relevant any time anywhere to those who are working in Rural Development to convey information, knowledge and skills to rural people through mass media, "extension aids", training manuals and printed media of all kinds.

The Workshop brought together in Udaipur, 54 top communicators from Delhi and from all but three of the Indian States and involved at various times more than 150 small farmers in the neighbourhood.

The report is not the usual collection of speeches and group discussions, but a serious attempt to describe and analyse the use of action research in media production. It gives a detailed account of the techniques used to explore the existing knowledge attitudes and practices of the rural population, to adapt technical "messages" to their needs, to pre-test and evaluate the media and to feed-back to the writers, illustrators, broadcasters and film-makers the extent of, and reason for, their relative success and failure. Finally it discusses the organisation of a media production system and the problems and implications of incorporating action research into the production process.

Source: Specially contributed

**Action Research and the Production of Media – Report of the All India Field Workshop on action research in agricultural development communication*, Eds. Ravi Varmi, Sh Ghosal, John Bowers, R. H. Hulls; Agricultural Extension & Rural Development Centre, University of Reading; pp. 33.

Book Reviews

Managing Rural Development (Ideas and Experiences from East Africa), by ROBERT CHAMBERS, *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, Sweden.*

This book, written for the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies – and probably under great pressure of time – is particularly difficult to review both fairly and objectively. It is stuffed, on almost every page, with shrewd observations, typical of Dr. Chambers' penetrating and critical eye for detail; it is honest, as shown by the objections to his views which are treated as real and worrying, not as the opinions of men of straw; and its judgements on a wide range of development issues seem, to me at least, important and right; if accepted they would lead to a great improvement in the design and practice – especially practice – of rural development programmes. It also shows evidence of intensive work and thought. So it is to be warmly welcomed, and, I hope, will be widely read; it can do nothing but good.

Having said this, which is the most important part of this review, there are also some criticisms. I will leave these to one side for a moment, in order to describe briefly the scope of the book. First, it is about East Africa, as the sub-title shows; and this is important to remember, since here and there judgements are made (e.g. about production per acre *versus* production per man) which would not be applicable in the more land-short, labour surplus areas of Asia. Second, it arises primarily from work carried out by Chambers and Belshaw on the management of field staff in rural development, and from experience of planning and evaluation in the Institute of Development Studies in Nairobi, although enriched by much wider experience. After an introductory Chapter, necessarily over-condensed, which is designed to introduce the need for greatly-improved management systems at field level, the next two main Chapters are devoted to detailed suggestions for a system of "supervision and work-planning" which lays the heaviest emphasis (God be praised!) on implementation as against "planning without implementation". The chosen method suggested (and in great detail) is based fundamentally on discussion of tasks and time-allocation with field staff, careful forward programming of a month's work, agreed by the officer concerned, daily diary keeping and functional reporting, monthly reviews of performance and of programme progress recorded on bar-charts, and close, encouraging supervision.

Chapter IV deals with "Local Participation" – Councils, Planning Committes and self-help – a subject which still needs much further investigation and theoretical analysis. Chapter V deals with Planners, although, rather unusually, it includes two considerable sections on Evaluation and Research, as well as a section on Area Planning. The last Chapter, more general, is a summary of the attitudes of mind and of the guiding precepts which are appropriate for the rural development planner and practitioner.

I am tempted to quote a dozen felicities of thought or expression which outcrop all through this book; but it would take too much space, and it is better to leave them to the reader. Yet I cannot forgo one detail which delighted me: the description of self-help schemes as "a nightmare for planners, a head-ache for administrators, and a wobbly plinth for politicians".

Now to the critic's other job – to criticise.

First, two or three details. Dr. Chambers finds himself – how well I know it – trying to address two audiences – his academic colleagues, and the administrators and planners. One result is that some pages are bespattered with references in the text, while elsewhere we have a much more personal, common-sense style. This is a minor matter, as are one or two slips – "Carr" at Nyakashaka is surely Stephen Kerr? CADU took little notice of their own evaluations, and certainly Dr. Chambers would have had much to criticise in the Minimum Package Programmes, which were (as CADU freely admitted) both technically and administratively a very hurried job, because there was a hurry.

Style throughout is vigorous and combative, even a little insistent. Dr. Chambers has also been slightly infected by a habit of making lists of precepts, desiderata, or factors, which springs from some sociological writing and reaches its worst in many U.N. documents. Two decisive arguments are often better than four, and attention is apt to skid away after six. Moreover, in the worst of such documents (not Chambers), the list of desiderata (say, for leadership), detailing that leaders must (1) Welcome participation, (2) Have sympathy, (3) Be encouraging yet strict, (4) Be co-operatively minded, (5) Have high communication skills – and so on up to 9, generates a sense of lifting off towards Utopia.

Now to much more important issues. In the two main chapters on field management, the author is well aware of the precipices on either side of him. Too many forms and bar charts, too much required information, even where the forms and information are much more functional and relevant, could only be a marginally improved substitute for the excess of reporting and time-wasting meetings which he rightly condemns; part of this lesson was learnt in the Mbere trial run. But one wonders whether a little too much emphasis is still laid on written forms. Some managers – whether in industry or the army or in agriculture – gain loyalty and effort much more personally, by being in the field, sleeves rolled up, alongside their staff. Nor is there a single recipe; for management style – benign and sympathetic and consistently so, can work; strict and tough, with good rewards and instant discipline can also work. Moreover, a good deal depends, not only on the manager, but on the expectations and (culturally influenced) reactions of the managed. Dr. Chambers in his incarnation as a District Officer, would probably have been the first to treat Samburu differently from Kikuyu. The management training of first-line supervision (AAO's) may be even more important than the forms – and this is no argument against a vast improvement in the minimum necessary forms.

There are many good things in the Chapter on Local Participation – for example, an extremely useful analysis of Block grants, and a warning note

that, in the earlier phases of social development, when "the common man" still has a high dependency on leaders of one sort or another, institutions designed with democratic intent can easily reinforce the bosses, and, indeed, increase exploitation. But here Dr. Chambers' eye for the detailed argument leaves one wishing for a more general explanatory theory. What are the essential, generalisable differences between a group in which members physically participate and a *representative* group at a higher level? At what point of a time sequence is the representative group (as against officials) (a) necessary and (b) likely to move things in a desired direction? Without some such hypotheses we are left in a mass of particular instances of success or failure, with few signposts.

The same problem arises in the arguments on Planning (which are a little awkwardly split between Chapters I and V, probably from hurry). Dr. Chambers has a rousing and memorable bash at "centrism" and many other villainies of planners – with which I heartily agree. There are also some telling criticisms of academic evaluators. But what is fundamentally wrong with the concept of central planning? It is interesting that in praising the energetic central guidance of S.R.D.P. by a single officer, the author quotes "*On s'engage, et puis on verra*" – surely the very epitome of anti-planning? He cannot have failed to notice the agreement of this phrase with the concept of sequential decision-making, earlier approved, and the disagreement of both with the usual concepts of planning. We need a fuller, logically worked-out analysis of what should be planned and what should be handled by intelligent opportunism, guided by sequential vision. So we are left, as we are with evaluation, rather in mid-air.

The same is perhaps even more true in the account of Area Planning. One unresolved difficulty lies in the tremendous local variations in ecology, crops, markets and human settlement even within a District – as the author recognises. These require highly local solutions, well below District level. How are the skills and the staff to be found to diagnose and prescribe for these localities, even if this process is best done by asking (not telling) the people who really know – the farmers? Someone has to ask the right questions: who? This is a question which, I believe, must be answered.

This is in many ways an important book, a real and personal contribution from Dr. Chambers. I hope he will soon find the time and opportunity to reflect in more broad terms on the mass of excellent material which he has presented here, and which should certainly stimulate all of us to do the same.

GUY HUNTER

Power and Independence: Urban Africans' Perception of Social Inequality, by P. C. LLOYD; *Routledge and Kegan Paul;* bibliography and index; pp. 248; £5.95

This book sets out to examine how present differences in income, living standards, etc., are regarded in Yorubaland. What views do Yorubas themselves have on this obvious stratification?

Lloyd takes as his starting point three criteria of ranking – power, wealth and prestige and explains that, traditionally, "power" connotes both physical

strength and the command over persons. Wealth connotes a large family as well as property, and higher social rank is associated with both the possession of power and wealth. A person rises in rank with age or achieves it through economic success and the attainment of political office. On either scale, Yoruba society is "open"; but a man needs popular support and specific helpers in order to reach the top, and only in certain hereditary titles is permanent inequality seen as right and proper.

When cocoa became the main basis of Yorubaland's economic development, the big traders were the wealthy citizens, and a further category of prosperous businessmen became prominent as transport owners. The years preceding and following Independence brought several new social categories to the fore. These include politicians and party leaders; senior civil servants; the officer corps; and "entrepreneurs" as owners of shops or small manufacturing businesses. Although the army is now in command and has not tended to favour educated men, it is accepted in contemporary Yoruba society that without education a highly rewarded occupation is almost impossible to achieve. Thus, whereas a university graduate first earns £70 per month and can then rise to double or treble that sum, the labourer's monthly wage may not be more than £8. Furthermore, income disparities are not ameliorated by tax policies. In the Western Region, for example, a man with an income of £2,000 per annum paid a lower percentage in tax than a man with an income of £50. Failing education to a relatively high level, the principal alternative route to advancement is to learn a trade and, if possible, save money in order to set up in business.

Lloyd considers that such recent patterns of mobility to new statutes are not incompatible with traditional concepts. Differences in status as the corollary of education to wealth and/or occupation are rationalised in similar terms, and although a humble start in life may be a person's destiny, the hurdle is not insurmountable. In respect of specific goals, there was a clear preference for self-employment. It confers prestige as do certain occupations which are the more valued when they provide opportunities of exercising patronage. Apparently skill is also esteemed, but the over-riding consideration is still apparently "power". The difference between the past and the present is that traditional political office is no longer the prime objective. The continuing emphasis on individual achievement is in terms of attaining membership of the educated elite; but though they are seen as wealthy, it is their occupancy of political power rather than their control of entrepreneurial activity that is stressed. In fact, the dichotomy is between governing and ruled, and not between employers/capitalists/bourgeoisie and workers. There is, in other words, no class opposition.

Lloyd brings a good deal of comparative material to bear on the latter point. He cites the apparent lack of political radicalism among the poor of 19th-century London, and takes rightly to task those who posit the Marxist idea of the African "peasant" or "proletarian" and their constituting the "revolutionary force" in African society.

However, a good deal depends upon what one means by "class feeling". Lloyd himself points out that the children of wealthy and educated parents

are discouraged from poor homes – the latter are often described as "rude" and "dirty". Also, educated people refer sometimes to the "natives", while at the same time taking good care to fulfil their obligations at family ceremonies and making an illiterate relative welcome in their own homes. Do matters resolve themselves in this matter because the educated African is adept at "situational selection" or because for both him and his unlettered compatriots steps up the social ladder are regarded as a means to an end; and not as an end in itself?

The latter is the way in which I personally interpret Lloyd's analysis. It is extremely well documented and provides the kind of detailed material needed if cross-cultural comparisons of urbanisation are to be effectively made. I felt, however, that there were several places where the argument could have been stated more simply and its thread less broken had the interrupting passages been placed in footnotes. I also found disappointing his almost exclusive use – despite protests against "ethnocentricism" – of a male model. Few, if any, of the systematic enquiries seem to have been addressed to women, and in a book concerned with "inequality" it would surely have been appropriate to consider Yoruba women's continuous plea for more political opportunities. Also, as I am sure Lloyd himself knows, Yoruba women's contribution to the economy is far from negligible. In Lagos, for example, the variety of occupations filled by women is probably greater and the number of women earning money larger than in any other "Black African" city. In addition, is it not the case that quite a sizeable proportion of households have women heads?

A minor question is why relevant references to "repatriates" from Sierra Leone as "creoles" lack the capital "C", and why the role of "Brazilians" was not mentioned in the same historic context. Also, according to an account elsewhere, there were in Ibadan from 1964-1966, 75 registered youth clubs not to mention unregistered ones, and so this sphere of interaction would seem to be more important than Lloyd indicates.

These complaints and quibbles are not intended to detract from the intrinsic value of *Power and Independence*. Though not perhaps the kind of book that will make easy reading for the general public, it most certainly merits a place in every library where scholarly contributions to African urban studies are shelved. One's only regret is that such an important review of Nigerian social development has not been made available in a cheaper paperback edition.

KENNETH LITTLE

Education for Planning: Report of a Working Group at the Centre for Environmental Studies, London, Volume 1, Part 1, of *Progress in Planning* Series, edited by DEREK DIAMOND and J. BRIAN MCLOUGHLIN; *Pergamon Press*; pp. 108; 1973; £1.75.

The emerging redistribution of population, production and power that is the result of rapid urbanisation raises one more major challenge to governments and public policy throughout the less developed countries. It is a challenge of considerable complexity, requiring rapid responses in policy-making, planning, action and management, in conditions of widespread

poverty, inequality and underutilisation of resources. It is a challenge that is very far from being met. The reasons for this are as many, and their interrelations as complex as those between the economic, social, political and physical dimensions of the city, or the system of cities, themselves.

One outstanding cause of inadequate and inappropriate urban policy and of its counterpart, inefficient and ineffective urban planning, is to be found in the failure of prevailing ideas and institutional forms to keep abreast of the needs and aspirations of those to whom they are supposed to apply. This failure of "public" learning to keep pace with evolving conditions and changing circumstances, becoming increasingly subject to that "dynamic conservatism" attached to conventional wisdoms appropriate to a previous period, is now a severe handicap to accelerating urban development. It is particularly evident in the pervasive, and pernicious segregation of partial and particularistic responses to the urban condition inherited from past practice; between "town planning" and "local government", "economic" and "physical" plans and policy instruments, "environmental" improvements and "community" developments, the making of "plans" and the "management" of metropolitan or municipal affairs. The prevailing legislation on, and even more the prevailing education and training for, urban planning and administration, has reflected and continued to uphold such divisions for far too long, often indeed in the image of parallel conventions in the more developed countries, but an image now outdated and discarded.

It is in this perspective that the appearance and availability of the report reviewed here is so significant and so very welcome. The approach, the argument and the recommendations so eloquently distilled within the compass of this slim volume, describe in an easily understood and coherent way, much of the "best practice" of planners, managers and educators in the field of urban and regional development in the UK today. Much of the substance, and all of the spirit of the writing is directly relevant to those involved in improving urban development and increasing the capacity of urban planning and management throughout the third world. It is significant that a monograph on planning education finds it necessary to review and challenge a range of accepted notions and divisions across the whole field of urban policy, planning, management and government in order to distill a relevant "brief" for educational development. Even more to the present point is the effective displacement of particular academic and professional perspectives from the centre of the stage, in favour of the central conviction that what is required to provide for future needs is more "effective, accessible and responsive" styles of urban government incorporating a "planning process" whose creativeness, dynamism, objectives, analysis, connectedness and willingness to adapt are more nearly adequate to contemporary circumstances and conflicts.

After a careful and instructive definition of terms the report proceeds to a review of urban administration and planning institutions and practices and a more extensive commentary on the diversity and incoherence of provisions for planning education in the field of urban development. The central section of the report lies in the chapters on "Reforms in Urban Management" and the complementary "Emerging Planning Process" which lead on to the

redefinition of educational requirements – both in terms of what is to be learnt, namely a creative fusion of knowledge about what is being "planned", who is to do it, and how it is to be accomplished, with the "capability" to apply this knowledge in practice over time; and in terms of the wide variety of types and levels of educational provision which must contribute in a more coherent manner to that "requisite variety" of skills and approaches needed to cope with the governing of cities. The report is neatly rounded out with appendices on existing courses of study related to urban and regional planning and on possible means for future extension to the range and type of educational opportunities offered.

The report spells out in a way that even the most advanced technical specialists should find congenial, if they but reflect on it, why urban planning and management must be removed once for all from the sectarian specialisms that have tended to monopolise its practice, and placed squarely in the governmental and political mainstream of constant change and conflict. It should certainly find a place on the shelves of all those directly concerned with urban development and planning education throughout the third world, where the power and precision of Cynthia Cockburn's prose, and the slim neatness of its paperback format, will hopefully ensure its frequent removal.

MICHAEL SAFIER

Latin American Development: A Geographical Perspective, by ALAN GILBERT; *Penguin Books;* pp. 366; 80p.

This book provides a useful guide for the student who seeks to find a way through the vast and sometimes turgid literature on the problems of development in Latin America. The author's main thesis is that, in planning the economy of a developing country, it is just as important to consider its geographical or "spatial" organisation as to decide how much should be invested in any selected industry or economic sector; in particular, if an equitable society is to be achieved, there must be a proper balance maintained between urban and rural development.

The related phenomena of industrialisation and urbanisation are examined critically in this context. The author agrees that the import-substitution policies of the post-1930 era have been successful up to a point in stimulating growth, but he points out, quite rightly, that, generally speaking, Latin American markets tend to be too small to support the more sophisticated kinds of industry, resulting in over-capacity and high costs. This situation is likely to persist so long as, in many of the republics, there are large numbers of peasants who live virtually outside the market economy.

Industrialisation, usually concentrated around a single centre, has led to the too rapid growth of cities and their shanty-towns. The author recognises that urbanisation *per se* is not detrimental to the total growth of the economy, but he believes that it is likely to increase regional disparities unless governments take compensatory action in order to spread the benefits of growth more widely.

Turning to the problems of rural development, the author praises, with some reservations, the land reforms which have taken place in such countries

as Mexico, Bolivia and Peru, but deplores the lack of progress elsewhere. He is particularly enthusiastic about the Cuban achievement, where land reform has been accompanied by remarkable improvements in schooling, health, sanitation and communications, and in the establishment of State shops to replace the private merchants who still exploit the peasants in most of the other Latin American republics. Land reallocation by itself, he argues, does bring some benefits, but it needs to be reinforced by a deliberate policy of rural development.

The author goes on to describe the work of a number of the agencies for regional development that have been established in recent years by most Latin American governments. His conclusions are a bit gloomy. He thinks that most of these agencies are fundamentally weak because they have usually lacked political support from the central government and have been used by local politicians for their own purposes. They have failed, in his view, to bring structural changes to backward regions, and he sees little hope for the future unless and until more governments in Latin America are prepared to adopt egalitarian policies.

But while the author's egalitarian bias is unmistakable, his book is refreshingly free from political polemics. To determine the proper balance between the demands of "growth" and "equality" is essentially a political decision which, in each republic, the Latin Americans must make for themselves. What this book sets out to do, in a proper scientific spirit, is to describe the various options – rural development, colonisation schemes, communications, the decentralisation of industry, international integration – which may be appropriate in different circumstances.

If I have any criticism of this otherwise excellent book it is simply that I think the author is sometimes too pessimistic in his conclusions. Over the last 40 years I have observed at first hand some remarkable changes in Latin America (Mexico is a good example, and now Peru seems to be taking off). I believe that, by and large, things are gradually moving in the direction which Mr. Gilbert would like to see. But he must be patient. Whatever the planners do or fail to do, it is bound to take a long time before the conditions of life of the *campesino* in backward areas are greatly improved. Meanwhile it is surely encouraging that so many former peasants, or their descendants, are finding a new and better life in the cities. Half a loaf is better than no loaf at all.

ROBERT MARETT

Indigenous Development and the Developing World, by GUY HUNTER, ODI Review No. 2, 1974, *Overseas Development Institute, London,* 1974.
The Implementation of Agricultural Development Policies: Organisation, Management and Institutions, by GUY HUNTER, *Overseas Development Institute, London,* 1974, pp. 39, £0.50.

These two publications from the Overseas Development Institute issue from the same thoughtful pen, and are clearly not unrelated.

Indigenous Development and the Developing World is a reminder that there are still major areas where Western assumptions and standards are uncritically

applied by both developed and developing countries and, beginning with Herbert Frankel, the author has developed this thesis with some well-chosen quotations – the others from the Third World itself.

The main threat, of course, is towards the inadequacy of development seen in terms of growth and, in reaction to its elusiveness, the transposition of an ever-increasing array of Western institutions and concepts, reaching their current apogee, in the cry for even more fully "integrated rural development". Given time, more understanding of the development process – seen as a sort of *risorgimento* of indigenous society as an organic whole – patience and the perception to be selective, the case is well made that developing countries could choose more successful paths *to* development. (Amongst the dilemmas which they face, however, that of the trade-offs between short-term and long-term gains does not receive much attention.)

While accepting that indigenous societies are not faced alone with the "problems of their own time and place", the author does not, perhaps, give recognition to the pressures which mass media and other forms of communication exert under popular expectations, notwithstanding that these may be seen to be unrealistic in terms of world resources. In equating "poor" and "developing", he perhaps underestimates also the effects which the new-found affluence of societies in some developing countries may have in reinforcing the "wholesale" export of technology and institutions from East and West by those who have the oil to pay for it.

The author does not deal with the obvious point that time is not on the side of the majority of developing countries – one form of modern technology – medicine, and the institutions to go with it has seen to that. Nor does the article dwell on the "scale" of the dilemma today in the most populous countries where, even if "development" is defined only in terms of a nutritionally adequate diet, not merely seeds, fertiliser and pesticides, but storage, transport, research and a whole range of energy-systems technology may have to be transferred if every harvest is not to bring with it the risk of starvation for millions. The author's implicit answer is "more haste, less speed" and, of course, there is no lack of evidence to support the adage.

At the risk of over-simplifying, Guy Hunter's "crie de coeur" to both developed and developing countries is "give them/us the appropriate tools from which to choose and we will select the right institutions and the manner of using them". One cannot argue against the general wisdom of or validity of this by saying that resources, the manner in which they are used and the people and institutions by or through whom they are articulated, are interdependant variables, and the optimal combinations for the vast range of circumstances which prevail within some 130 developing countries are clearly very great in number. For the "aid donor" at least, this would seem to underline Hunter's plea that existing indigenous institutions should be built upon, whatever form they may take. This would be too simple, however, and he does not, for instance, discuss the implications of such a proposition in terms of the current focus on poverty, income distribution, or structural reform; in fact the only reference to agrarian structure is a case where no change in land tenure was necessary (the Karo Batak).

It is at the end of this article that the outsider (whether academic, professional "developer" or aid donor) might find himself in trouble when trying to adhere on the one hand to the principle of not trying to inflict his own cultural pattern of thought on the developing countries and, on the other, seeking to crystallise some lessons from experience. Thus, the first two implications which Hunter offers by way of summary in regard to planning and the role of the private entrepreneur, would not be accepted in Tanzania without substantial qualification or, almost by definition, in the "centrally planned" developing countries. Thus "to accept willingly" the small entrepreneurs, merchants and shopkeepers and, even more so, big, medium and small farmers, is to offer a political-social-institutional prescription. Since Julius Nyerere in "Freedom and Unity" explicitly claims that "African socialism" is built upon an indigenous form and not upon that derived from reaction to 19th-century industrialisation, some discussion of the rationale of the institutional and social choices now being made in Tanzania would not have been out of place in this article.

The story of the Karo Batak exemplifies the tantalising aspect of this article and, indeed, of development, for even when the reader has gone back to the original record, the question remains: is there any moral? – apart from the fact that it took fifty years. For every case in which successful indigenous development has taken place with "only a sequence of ordinary departmental administrative action", a hundred cases could be quoted where there has been little or no discernible development. Furthermore, while it would be foolish to overdo "external evaluation teams", without some on-going evaluation it is difficult to know what if anything *is* taking place, and the fact that we are in a position to learn something from the case of the Karo Batak is due to the fact that it was written up (evaluated ex post?) by two outsiders.

Perhaps it is a little academic, but was 1970 a turning point, as Hunter argues it to have been, in the preoccupation of development economists with G.N.P.? At page 58 of Frankel's Essays, which he quotes with justifiable approval, is a long and significant extract from Jacob Viner's "International Trade and Economic Development" (1952). This, in explicit terms, antidates both the ILO's and the IBRD's recent focus upon poverty and income distribution and employment by some twenty years. Indeed, a hundred years prior to the close of the Second World War, which arguably gave a strong boost to the economist's role and to growth-regrowth, John Stuart Mill, in the Fourth Part of his "Principles of Political Economy", clearly foresaw many of the limitations of progress based merely upon material growth, "where the whole of one sex is devoted to dollar-hunting and the other to breeding dollar-hunters", and he also recognised that we are in a "very early stage of human improvement". The latter, as Hunter has ably explained, is what development is all about.

The Implementation of Agricultural Development Policies: Organisation, Management, and Institutions, as the sub-title tells us, is a Summary and Comment on the Second International Seminar on Change in Agriculture, at the University of Reading, held in September, 1974. Both the author and the O.D.I. are to be congratulated for producing this well-structured summary,

along with a useful check list of the papers within two months of the Seminar. To condense the substance of ten Plenary Addresses and close on seventy papers into thirty-five pages of summary is a nigh impossible task, but for those who did not have an opportunity to attend in person (225 members from 50 countries were able to do so, however), and who wish to seek access to the papers of most interest to them, this booklet should serve as a very useful guide. Hopefully, it will also serve to whet the appetite of those who will need to study the fuller version of the Seminar to be produced in due course under the editorship of Hugh Bunting as a sequel to Change in Agriculture which emerged from the First Seminar in 1969*.

PETER STUTLEY

*Ed. Bunting, A. H. *Change in Agriculture*, 1970.

Governing an African City: a Study of Nairobi, 67, by HERBERT H. WERLIN; *Africana Publishing House;* 1973; pp. 108; £1.75.

In 1948, making my way towards Kenya for the first time, I listened to a fellow traveller's praise of Nairobi – its location, pleasant avenues, affluence, position as East Africa's commercial centre, and vivacious life. Asked about its prospects, my travelling companion, an observer from West Africa, sadly shook his head. Nairobi was artificial, he thought, it had an alien air, sat uneasily in an African context, and would one day have to undergo an uncomfortable transformation process.

The book under review tells the story of this process in so far as it relates to local government. On 1 October, 1963, Nairobi's area was extended from 35 square miles to 266, its responsibilities were increased, and at the same time it passed to African control. Until then control at both member and officer level had been European. The administration had been on the English pattern, with committees supervising highly-specialised departments, the whole organisation being loosely bound together, and depending for successful operation upon those indefinable but ineluctable relations so dear to the British.

Even the political scientist, an animal not conspicuously endowed with powers of prediction, could have foreseen the likely course of events. The new masters were bewildered by the vast problems and the intricate machine. Experienced expatriate staff melted away; some felt that they were unlikely to be trusted by the new councillors, others had to establish themselves elsewhere in more permanent posts. Of those who remained, some managed to attain good rapport with their masters, others did not. The net result was a tragic weakening in the administrative machine which could be strengthened only gradually as local candidates could be found and trained.

As to the elected representatives themselves, few were experienced in making judgements upon intricate issues and taking responsibility for a large scale organisation. All were subject to political and other pressures, frequently to tribal influences, and often to unwise and sometimes arbitrary action by the central government which was also feeling its way. It would have been unreasonable to expect central-local relations, which are ever in a state of flux in most countries, to run smoothly in such circumstances as Nairobi was experiencing. But alas there were other fundamental difficulties. Nairobi

may appear now, as it did in 1948, to be affluent, but it is after all the capital of a developing country with limited resources, not an "advanced" industrial state, and it has in addition many of the disturbing and familiar problems associated with feverish expansion and the unregulated trek from the countryside into the town.

Professor Werlin has painted in this background in sufficient detail to make intelligible the events of the years following the transfer of control. Inevitably he has to chronicle long and ill-focussed committee meetings, disrupted management teams, personal struggles for power, fraud and peculation, artificially-swollen labour forces, vehicles and plant misused and vain struggles to attract and keep staff. There are also descriptions of intractable social problems encountered by the new regime; problems which might well have taxed any administration, but which were not in the author's opinion rightly tackled in the city. Housing and hawkers are examples.

Nairobi's record is none the less one of endeavour. Solutions were tried, forces were grouped and regrouped, personalities (e.g. that of Charles Rubia) emerged, progress was made. The author's conclusion is that Nairobi City Council's future is bound up with the economic and political health of Kenya. Among optimistic signs he instances are increasing education, the strong economy, the relative stability. Less favourable portents are increasing inequality among Africans, internal tension and "growing political and administrative corruption".

Undoubtedly, a great responsibility rests upon central governments in those emergent countries anxious to develop local self-government. Aptitude and capacity have to be fostered, responsibilities and finance have to be matched (a respect in which Kenya's record leaves something to be desired) and flexible controls have to be devised. One would like to see this interesting study followed up by depth research into particular aspects. One can hardly dispute Professor Werlin's conclusion that more elastic control arrangements between the centre and the local authorities are needed. But they are hard to achieve in any country, even in the most favourable circumstances.

The unbending, unimaginative central official, determined on carrying his control into minute detail, and the unresponsive local official determined to cut his own caper on the rope, are universally familiar figures. They can be tamed only by a firmly-established tradition of give and take, the first step to which is surely knowledge of what is actually involved when decisions are made: the people concerned, the influences at work, the procedures adopted and so forth.

The book, based on a Ph.D. thesis is well documented and arranged.

A. H. MARSHALL

Modern Migrations in Western Africa: Studies presented and discussed at the Eleventh International African Seminar, Dakar, April, 1972, edited by SAMIR AMIN; *London, Oxford University Press for the International African Institute,* 1974; pp. 426; £5.

The publication of the proceedings of a seminar of the International African Institute has become a keenly awaited event for most Africanists

since the first in the series in 1961. This has been no exception, and will arouse few disappointments. (Sadly it is the last to have been produced under the Directorship of the late Daryll Forde, who has contributed a brief foreword). Like the others it brings together a vast range of knowledge, experience and opinion on a major social phenomenon, which in Western Africa within the last ten years has assumed new and important dimensions in movements within countries, between countries and between West Africa and Europe, particularly France. Papers presented to the seminar dealt with migrations at each of these scales and the selection included here as *Special Studies* (9 in English, 7 in French with substantial French or English summaries) deals with the range of mobility phenomena not only for the area as a whole, notably Krishna Patel's important critique of administrative and legislative measures governing the employment of foreign workers in each State, but also for individual countries, including Nigeria, Upper Volta and Togo, and in local case studies of several areas, from Northern Nigeria in the east to Senegal in the west. Most of these local studies are well structured by the authors to illustrate a much more generally interesting issue.

Although the 16 *Special Studies* are important in their own right, the most valuable feature of the text is the substantial Introduction (in French and English, each of 60 pages, such is the apparent economics of book production) by the Editor and Chairman of the Seminar, Samir Amin, Director of the *Institut Africain de Developpement et Planification*. All too often proceedings of seminars become weak books because the papers are insufficiently well linked by the editor, but this volume certainly avoids this pitfall for the individual papers have each been related to the wider context. Even more important is the way in which the Editor goes much further than a mere restatement of the main themes. The introduction is a trenchant statement of his own views that add to, and in some cases contradict, views expressed in the *Special Studies*. It focuses, rather at the expense of other themes such as spontaneous rural mass migration, on the growth of the migrant labour system within Western Africa and the economic relationship between the more developed, mostly coastal areas to which migrant labour has been attracted and poor, inland areas which have acted as reservoirs of that labour. Nigeria is an interesting exception to this general relationship and there is discussion of political and demographic reasons for the contrast, and why colonisation of relatively empty areas has been more important in Nigeria than elsewhere. Labour migration in West Africa, especially seasonal circulation between savanna and forest, has traditionally been seen to be to the short and long-term benefit of both source and destination regions, but Amin lends support to the view that the more advanced regions attract labour at the expense of development – actual and potential – in the sending regions. Specific criticism is levelled against approaches to the problems based on the unsatisfactory methodological bases of marginal economics and econometrics. The argument develops from Amin's ideological premises, which are clearly at variance with some of those expressed in the case studies, but despite this (or perhaps because of it) the discussion is provocative, forcing one to reconsider established views of the theoretical and empirical issues involved. It is successful because it is provocative and, even if one would wish to challenge or at least modify some statements and would have wished for

fuller discussion of other migratory phenomena, one is much the wiser for having considered the argument and relating it to the rest of the book.

W. T. S. GOULD

The Tanzania Civil Service a Decade after Independence – Progress, Problems and Prospects, by ADEBAYO ADEDEJI; *University of Ife Press, Nigeria;* pp. 30; £0.60; No. 75.

For two months in 1971, Professor Adedeji was a visiting Professor to the University of Dar es Salaam, and with this short experience he has been able to produce a brief but brilliant examination of the civil service on the Tanganyika mainland of Tanzania, for the Institute of Ife's monograph series.

Following the Adu Commission of 1961 an integrated pre-Fulton British-style civil service was introduced to meet the needs of a newly-independent state. Since then little change has taken place. Civil service salaries then high by local standards, have been virtually pegged so that today in the higher grades they fall well below the equivalent scales in neighbouring Kenya or Zambia or for that matter Nigeria, all incidentally, richer (likewise, as deliberate policy with egalitarian objectives, the emoluments of ministers have been pegged and even reduced, and a side range of office holders debarred from receiving secondary sources of income).

The size of the civil service has increased in a decade from 34 to 75 thousand with senior and middle grade posts rising from 4,000 to over 9,000. As one would expect, the pace of Africanisation has been fast but still, at the end of 1970, 60 per cent of senior administrative and professional posts and 40 per cent of senior executive, technical and teaching posts were held by non-citizens. Nonetheless, Professor Adedeji points to the lowering of standards resulting from less-qualified citizens replacing expatriates, so that of 277 top posts only 18 per cent were still held by graduates; this the author contrasts with a very different situation in West Africa.

Since 1964 it has been open to civil servants to join TANU and they have been encouraged to do so. Some have been appointed to political office and some politicians have transferred to civil service appointments (the important post of Regional Commissioner has been used for high-level political-civil service cross-fertilisation). Professor Adedeji looks askance at the "special pleading" that politicisation of the bureaucracy "is not something to worry about". He quotes with approval the conclusions of an anglo-phone African seminar on Public Administration – "there is a distinction between the civil service being responsive to political policies . . . and being politicised. A politicised civil servant . . . tailors his views to the political sensibilities of his political master. He is in fact a sycophant and a time server".

Professor Adedeji urges the establishment of "a high-powered administrative reform commission which will investigate desirable changes" – he sees the need for giving immediate attention to training needs. Middle-level civil servants have been catered for but "little thought appears to have been

given to professional training for the higher echelon" – for as, he says, "Tanzania needs a growing corps of committed professionals". He accords high praise for "the relentless war against corruption" but his deep reservations relate to the politicisation of the civil service, the low quality of the administration service and the escalated size of the bureaucracy. "Unless these are closely watched they may get out of hand and impair permanently the effectiveness and the efficiency of Public Administration".

Professor Adedeji writes on a subject in which he has achieved high international repute. The Tanzania government will surely consider very sensibly this forthright yet sympathetic and constructive examination of their Administration, with a view to initiating some of the reforms suggested.

P.H.J.

Book Notes

African Aims and Attitudes – Eds. MARTIN MINOGUE and JUDITH MALLOY; *Cambridge University Press;* bibliography; pp. 400; £6.20 (hardback), £2.40 (paperback).

The editors have collected 90 readings from widely varied sources. Their choice is a catholic one and, overall, makes up a politico-cultural *pot-pourri*. They draw most of their material from political leaders – some dead, some detained, some actively in power, some held in high renown, some discredited. No doubt this form of potted learning selected across the continental breadth of Africa can provide a useful reference book to scholars or widely-read general readers who know something of the context of a reading and the local circumstances in which a particular philosophical attitude or party political line was adopted. There is sufficient coverage here of post-independence thinking in Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia to be helpful to a student, but the danger of potted (and textually unexplained) material producing potted and shallow ideas for those with no depth of knowledge in the subject, affects these readings as it does so many others. The price, however, is likely to deter most students.

Economic Growth and the Public Sector in Malaya and Singapore, 1948-1960, by LEE SOON ANN; *Oxford University Press,* 1974; with appendices, bibliography and index; pp. 192; £9.25.

The First Development Decade was generally a decade of disappointment in the Third World. A reasonable percentage increase in the growth rate was invariably offset by the effects of the population explosion which meant at best a negligible increase in *per capita* wealth. Exceptions there were, notably Singapore and Malaya notwithstanding the strains, stresses and costs of the confrontation with the Communists which had so recently ended successfully on the Malayan mainland.

The author looks at the preceding decade and draws attention to the dependence on the plantation-mining sector in the period under review, and notes as a redeeming feature of the post-war experience the emphasis laid on social services and rubber replanting and the manner in which "the government played an important role in the allocation of resources in a manner that will sustain growth in the future".

Renewing Urban Teaching, by L. F. CLAYDON; *Cambridge University Press;* appendices, notes, index; pp. 190; £3.75.

The principal author and his colleagues participated in a special City Educational Task Force set up at La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia, with the central idea of combining "intensive and rigorous teacher education with a definite and practical objective, namely the creation of relevant programmes of education for the City Child". Besides the University, support from the State of Victoria, volunteer guinea-pig schools, and volunteer teachers and student-teachers, clearly enabled a successful team approach to be adopted.

To educationalists in many lands the forward-looking experiments described here in the case studies of two urban schools will be of very great interest. The "open classroom" method apparently found immediate favour, and overall a thematic rather than a subject-divisive approach to teaching was followed ("eg the sea, loneliness, working in a city" rather than "English" and "history"). The cottage alternative met with a more mixed reception, particularly from teachers, but here, too, further experimentation is to continue. Indeed the Task Force was learning all the while and no claim is made to have found any best urban teaching pattern.

It is a pity perhaps that this admirably-produced and well-written book with its very modest assessment of what was probably a remarkably well-conceived and implemented educational exercise, should close with a rather woolly-worded general comment. With greater experience gained from the work of more Task Forces now contemplated, a further volume will, one hopes, appear in due course to carry the story further and to provide a fuller evaluation.

A Manual of Building Construction, by the Rev. HAROLD K. DANCY; *Intermediate Technology Development Group, London;* with over 800 diagrams/figures; pp. 360; £1.00.

ITDG is to be congratulated on reprinting this very useful manual and for making it available at a modest cost. The author was for many years Chief builder for the Sudan Interior Mission, and like R. J. Longland many years earlier, bases his writing and guidelines on a wealth of personal experience in the tropics. Besides sensible advice on the preliminaries; site selection, etc, design and business details, there are chapters on masonry, brickmaking, lay-out, stonework, foundations, roofing, carpentry, concrete work, plumbing, electrical installations and decorating. This is a manual which should in particular prove very helpful to those concerned with self-help housing, and to small-scale building contractors.

Local Administration and Politics in Modernising Societies – Bangladesh and Pakistan, by NAJMUL ABEDIN; *Oxford University Press,* 1974; appendices, bibliography and index; pp. 458; £6.50.

This volume is a revised version of Dr. Najmul Abedin's doctoral thesis – hence the plethora of countless notes which are at least placed properly at the foot of every page. In turning thesis into book, the opportunity should be taken to delete all those very many footnotes which are there just to help satisfy academic examiners.

In the changing pattern of district administration as described by the author, the once all-powerful district officer still wields much power and influence albeit his authority has been materially reduced. He must often "cajole and persuade" where in the past he was "assertive and forceful". His position is now challenged both by technical officers and by politically-minded local leaders. It is of course early days for any observer to summarise the administrative system of Bangladesh and to compare it with that for Pakistan. However, Dr. Abedin does see the Pakistan regime as the more authoritarian, less politically conscious, more inclined to fill the top civil service echelons from the "upper classes".

To be really worthwhile, however, a politico-administrative study of these countries and particularly one of hard-pressed Bangladesh beset by natural disasters and the aftermath of man-made devastation, serious attention must needs be drawn to the problem of corruption – a word missing from the index to this book.

Elite Politics in Rural India, by ANTHONY CARTER; *Cambridge University Press;* appendix, notes, maps, titles, index; pp. 207; £5.80.

Anthony Carter's study is a revised version of his doctorate dissertation. The references come as an appendix and not as footnotes on the relevant pages, but they are by no means excessive in number, and the book as a whole benefits from the excellence of the Publisher's presentation.

The author focusses on power politics in a small area of rural Western Maharashtra. He finds power concentrated in relatively few persons and the majority of these are members of a small high caste section of the population "Although the chairman of a district (Samiti) council is much more powerful than the chairman of a village Panchayat", he sees both as members of a power elite with influence on political decisions. Both belong to the political class which alone wields power. Not surprisingly, with this power, the political class has a privileged economic status – controlling co-operatives, employing labour, dispensing credit. When it comes to local elections alliances are joined within the power groups not on the basis of kith, caste or kin, but simply in terms of the personal advancement of those concerned.

Fiscal Federalism in India, by B. S. GREWAL; *Australian National University Press, Canberra;* maps and bibliography; pp. 116; $A3.60.

While he has noted some recent rationalisation, the author does not consider that fiscal federation in India as presently organised is either rational or efficient. He reckons it results in a wastage of resources that a resource-poor country cannot afford. As he sees it the system is too flexible and this has allowed for *ad hoc* decisions being taken all too often. He recommends that the Finance Commission be made permanent and given scope to deal with non-plan capital budgets of the States (now excluded).

He considers research in the fiscal field has been neglected and suggests it is badly needed so as to provide adequate and reliable information – now lacking – on intergovernmental relations. On the whole, however, while pointing out the several weaknesses in the present Indian fiscal system, the author has little to say on how they should be righted.

The Politics of Underdevelopment, by GERALD A. HEEGER; *Macmillan,* 1974; index; pp. 150; £5.00.

This small book gives the impression that it has been based on a doctoral thesis – besides some 50 quoted passages in the text, there are more than 300 notes (irritatingly placed at the end of each chapter and not at the foot of the relevant pages). It is the product of much study and reading but, one suspects, little practical experience in the Third World. It is unwise to assess the emergence of active politics in pre-independence Tanzania mainly on Maguire's sympathetic but rather over-painted picture of atypical Sukumaland, or on Blenen if the latter's credibility is to be based on his reference to the status of State House (long since abandoned by Dr. Nyerere as his home) and large cars (another object of presidential disapproval). Similar points could no doubt be made in respect to other countries. Nonetheless, Dr. Heeger's penmanship is pleasantly free of jargon and this well-produced book provides plenty of scope for lively academic debate.

Revolutionary Guerilla Warfare – the Countryside Version, by GEOFFREY FAIRBAIRN; *Penguin Books,* 1974; appendices and index; pp. 400; £0.75 (paperback).

This is an unusual book by an Australian historian who has made a particular study of the conflicts which have beset South East Asia over the past 25 years. It is unusual as books on this theme generally emanate either from those who are zealots in a particular cause or from journalists whose accounts are based on their own contemporary reporting. Here, however, is a scholarly, well written study based on wide reading and much active field work.

T. E. Lawrence, Mao Tse-tung, Che Guevara come under scrutiny in a widespread examination of guerilla concepts, motivations and the problems they create, all well documented, with the focus on South East Asia and the Far East. The balanced perspective and the intellectual integrity of Fairbairn's approach is what one expects from a good historian. There is a lot to learn in this volume for those who live in an era of exceptional violence – for those, that is, who are not too prejudiced to learn.

Sociology and Development, Eds. EMMANUEL DE KADT and GAVIN WILLIAMS; *Tavistock Publications, London; Barnes and Noble, New York;* index; pp. 374; £5.60 (hardback); £2.00 (paperback).

This is a volume of short essays mostly written by the younger generation of British sociology dons. As one might expect, the quality of the writing varies, and overall the contributors seem rather more concerned with the niceties of academic dialogue than they are with the realities of the complex problems of development facing both industrial countries and the Third World.

To offset a disappointing chapter on the Scottish Highlands (no mention of the Crofters Commission and the author has difficulty in emerging from the Eighteenth Century) there is a lively essay on industrial protest in Nigeria by Adrian Peace and on the poor of Ibadan by Gavin Williams – two welcome gusts of fresh air in an otherwise all too arid an academic atmosphere.

The Role of Social Welfare Services in Rural Development – Integrated Development; *Zambian Council of Social Welfare, Lusaka and the German National Committee of the International Council on Social Welfare;* pp. 232.

This volume contains the report of the Fifth Social Welfare Seminar in East and Central Africa which was held in Lusaka in June, 1972. It was attended by representatives from nine anglophone African States, Sudan, Ethiopia, Mauritius, the Association for Social Work Education in Africa, the ICSW and ECA.

Of particular interest to Journal readers will be the main seminar recommendations on social work training:

less emphasis on Western social concepts,
continuous research and assessment of educational methods needed,
initial training should be generic – specialisations should follow later (a Zambian participant here interposed a rider that the Social Worker should not become a Jack of all Trades),
a close relationship needed between class and field, and field work instruction re-oriented to include experience with productive development activities in African countries (eg Ujamaa villages, Co-operatives),
locally-developed teaching materials should be promoted, training should be on-going – adult education should be emphasised both as a theoretical subject and as a skill development programme.

While a broad field of social welfare facets was covered during the seminar, the only general recommendation spelled out concentrates on social work training.

Local Government in Southern Africa, by W. B. VOSLOO, D. A. KOTZE and W. J. O. JEPPE; *Academica, Pretoria and Capetown;* pp. 291.

Accelerated Development in Southern Africa, Eds. JOHN BARRATT, SIMON BRAND, DAVID S. COLLIER and KURT GLASER; *Macmillan, London,* 1974; index; pp. 706; £7.00.

Ten descriptive chapters present an up-to-date picture of the structure of local government in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, Portuguese West Africa, Rhodesia, South and South West Africa, and Zambia. It must be very rare to find the facts about local government in Angola briefly set out in English. The authoritative and capable pen of Professor Tordoff describes the "participatory democracy" in Zambia to which President Kaunda is strongly committed, E. G. Cramp with his "on the spot" knowledge, provides an account of local government developments in Malawi, I. E. Butler with a decade of local past experience follows suit in respect of Malawi. The South African picture is painted by Stellenbosch University staff, while that for Rhodesia is provided by a former and a present Ministry of Local Government administrator.

Most of the contents page numbering is one or two pages out.

"Accelerated Development in Southern Africa" contains the papers presented at a conference held at Johannesburg in 1972. There are no less than 34 papers, a foreword, a preface, an epilogue, a miscellany of commentaries, three rapporteurs' reports, a lot of notes at the end of papers, even the odd appendix thrown in. The result is such an indigestible jumble that one wonders what on earth the editors were up to. Rigorously edited, a useful volume might have emerged.

The New Zealand Bureaucrat, by THOMAS B. SMITH; *Cheshire Publishing Wellington, New Zealand;* tables, index; pp. 162; ($NZ) 9.95.

Dr. Smith sets out to describe "the dominant characteristics and the working environment of the executive-class administrator" in New Zealand. He finds one particular local advantage in the stability of the political system – with rare exceptions New Zealand's political leaders have not been inclined to tamper with the machinery and process of government; nonetheless, he finds that "the public bureaucracy is a large, complex, and constantly-changing entity". Dr. Smith interviewed a random sample of 119 administrators, listed staff complements by ministries, the functions involved, the growth of staff numbers, their salary groupings, family and educational backgrounds, age groups, work relationships, likes and dislikes; he provides data on women in the public service. This said and done, very little in fact emerges beyond a useful store of facts, except perhaps in the chapter on "Change and Problems" in which a much greater recent civil service awareness of public relations is noted, a generation gap within officials of the same department, the usual complaints of excessive work loads and inadequate staff/finance resources, a great pride in New Zealand's corruption-free administration. That a political scientist can find so little to criticise must reflect very well on the quality of administration enjoyed by New Zealand's citizens. There is one strange omission, there is no mention of Sir Guy Powles.

Problems and Approaches for Solution of an Association between Fiji/Tonga/Western Samoa and the European Community, by KLAUS BILLERBECK; *German Development Institute, Berlin,* 1974; pp. 73.

Klaus Billerbeck has written an interesting "occasional paper" on Polynesian trade problems. He points out that for their main product, copra, Tonga and Western Samoa already get duty-free entry into the EEC, while Fiji on the other hand will only be able to retain preferential treatment on Britain's coconut oil market if she associates with EEC. He sees the treatment of copra productivity as the likely over-riding factor which decides whether association will be of major economic advantage to "the Three".

If, as he seems to expect, the Pacific Islands and Australasia form a Free Trade area of their own this would complicate arrangements for any of the former to associate with EEC.

Oil and World Power – background to the oil crisis, by PETER R. ODELL; *Pelican Books,* 1974; index; pp. 425; £0.60.

Peter Odell has revised this third edition of his "Oil and World Power" so as to take into account the "abnormal and quite traumatic developments" of late 1973 and much of 1974.

The author argues that OPEC (organisation of oil exporting countries) and the oil companies were encouraged by the United States in the early 1970s to collaborate closely, with the USA welcoming (at first) increased oil prices both as a means of easing political tension and instability in the Middle East and also as a means of improving the American trade position *vis-a-vis* Japan and of increasing the profits of American oil companies to the overall economic advantage of the USA – hence a foreign policy aimed at getting OPEC revenues moving strongly upwards.

Peter Odell sees clearly the great difficulty in which rising oil prices places all the non-oil producing developing countries and he expects so see expansion and greater exploitation of local sources of energy – Indian coal, oil shale in Thailand, hydro-electricity in Brazil and elsewhere (fortunate Zambia in this respect!). He reckons that many developing countries would become bankrupt if they imported the quantity of oil which up till now they have thought was required for their economic development. He hopes to see a differential pricing system introduced before long whereby OPEC would charge higher prices to industrialised countries – "this", he says, "would certainly help to sustain the otherwise quickly disappearing support among Third World countries for the OPEC countries". Meantime the search for oil will go on and the search too for other available sources of energy.

An Introduction to British Trade Unions, by BEN HOOBERMAN; *Penguin Books;* tables and index; pp. 140; 45p (paperback).

A simple and easily-digested account of Trade Union history in the United Kingdom, with chapters on such aspects of the industrial scene as "Strikes and some methods of avoiding them", "Relations between Union and Member" and the 1971 Industrial Relations Act, now removed from the Statute Book by the Labour Government following the February 1974 General Election. A quick look is also taken at U.S. Legislation, International Conventions, and the EEC.

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